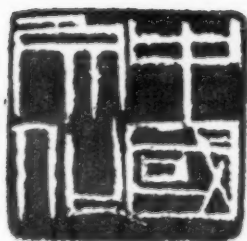


CHINESE CULTURE

A Quarterly Review



Volume II No. 4

May 1960

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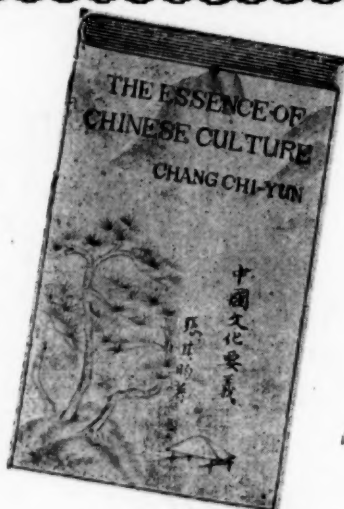
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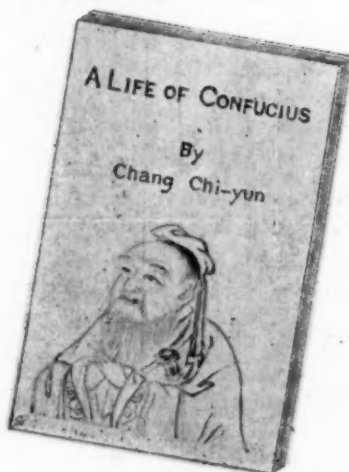
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Li and Law

By Chang Chin-tsen (張慶楨)

I. The Meaning and Functions of Li

Owing to the lack of reliable historical records, Chinese history before the Hsia dynasty (2205-1766 B. C.) is regarded by historians as a period of doubtful authenticity. But with the development of social and political institutions in the Hsia, Shang (1766-1122 B. C.), and Chou (1122-221 B. C.) dynasties, historians began to have trustworthy data to go upon. During these three eras, all political, social, and cultural institutions were founded on *li* (禮). As Confucius has well said, "In the administration of a country the first essential is *li*, which is really the foundation of government." Or again: "With the rise of *li*, the people will be well regulated; but as soon as *li* decays, there will be confusion among them." Tso Chu-ming, an eminent historian of the Han dynasty, considered *li* to be "the mainstay of a nation," while Hsun Tzu, a leading Confucianist ranking only second to Mencius, declared that "a nation's fortunes depend on *li*." It is the traditional Confucian view that the rise or decay of *li* has a direct bearing on the order or disorder of a country and on the prosperity or decline of society. Since the functions of *li* were so important in ancient times, it is necessary for us to understand the basic ideas that underlie it.

In the first place, *li* is something that regulates our ethical relations which, according to Confucius, include five categories, namely: relations between prince and minister, relations between father and son, relations between husband and wife, relations between brothers, and relations between friends. These five categories exhaust all the social relations between one individual and another.

It is noteworthy that except relations between friends the four other categories are based more or less on class distinctions and the parties to them do not stand on a footing of equality. In the family one individual differs from another in status, age, and sex and these differences determine what one's position in the family is. Some are superior and others inferior. Some have a better claim to our affection and love, because they are in the Confucian scheme of family relations more closely related to us than others,

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The question arises as to how such inequalities can be maintained. The answer to it is found in *li*. As Mencius explained, it "There is love between father and son, justice between prince and minister, mutual tolerance of differences between husband and wife, order of precedence between senior and junior, and mutual confidence between friends." In the view of Yen Tzu, "The father should be kind, the son filial, the elder brother affectionate, the younger brother respectful, the husband good-natured, the wife gentle, the mother-in-law kind, and the daughter-in-law obedient—all in conformity to *li*." Says the *Book of Li*: "By using *li* and *yi* (義) as guiding principles, we shall be able to regulate the relationship between prince and minister, to intensify the father's love for his son and the son's love for his father, to promote fraternal feelings between brothers, and to bring about harmony between husband and wife." "Without *li* it would be impossible to tell the difference between the position of a prince and that of his minister, between the position of a superior and that of an inferior, or between the position of an elder person and that of a younger one. Without *li* it would be impossible to fix the degrees of relationship between the sexes, between father and son, and between brothers." That is why "there must be gradations of the noble and the ignoble, differences of dress for different people, and different positions for high and low officials at court."

It is by means of *li* that the social status of one person is differentiated from that of another and that orders of precedence are set in social intercourse and on ceremonial occasions. In the view of the Confucianists, *li* is the principle that regulates all national institutions which would lose their validity without it. Put in another way, *li* is an unwritten law governing the organization of the family, society, and the state.

Being extremely intricate, such an unwritten law cannot be indiscriminately applied. On the contrary, its application to any given situation depends upon the position or social status of the persons involved. The difficulty lies in doing exactly the right thing without either overstepping the prescribed rules or failing to conform to them. This was what Confucius had in mind when he said, "Let us conform to *li* which is aimed at the golden mean." Tzu Ssu, the grandson of Confucius, expressed the same idea by declaring, "In formulating codes of *li*, the ancient rulers expected those whose conduct had overstepped the golden mean to restrain themselves a little bit on the one hand, and those whose conduct had fallen short of the golden mean to catch up with it on the other." The aim is always to do just the appropriate thing without the least deviation either way. In *li* neither a *faux pas* nor any excess is allowed. Otherwise it cannot be called *li*.

Secondly, *li* is designed to curb the natural desires of man. Even the Confucianists recognize the need for material things to satisfy human wants. Confucius himself urged us to "enrich the people", and Mencius maintained that "it takes a man with a reliable source of income to have a reliable character." Starting from the premise that man has natural desires, Hsun Tzu went on to reason that as desires lead to cupidity and cupidity to disputes, proper limits must be set in order to prevent human nature from running wild. He would not say that human desires are wrong or sinful, but he did insist in restraining them within proper limits, by which he meant that each person should enjoy the material things of life only to a reasonable extent so that there might be no lack of the same things for other persons. In this way, the satisfaction of one individual's wants would not encroach upon that of another individual's. Such limits are what is known as *li*.

Says Hsun Tzu in a celebrated passage:

"Why has *li* arisen? It has arisen because man is born with certain natural desires which, if unsatisfied, will lead to a search for the means of their satisfaction. If the search for the means of their satisfaction is not limited within reasonable bounds, it will give rise to disputes which, in turn, will end in social confusion. When there is social confusion, we can only throw up our hands in despair. Hating to see social confusion, the ancient rulers laid down rules of *li* and *yi* to set limits to man's desires, to direct them into proper channels, and to satisfy his wants. They saw to it that human desires would not use up all the available material things of life, and that the latter would not cater to every whim of the human heart. The origin of *li* is to be found in the balanced development of human wants and the means for their satisfaction."

Another passage from Hsun Tzu may be quoted:

"The ancient rulers divided, by means *li* and *yi*, the people into different gradations. They recognized differences between the noble and the ignoble, between the elder and the younger, between the wise and the foolish, between the capable and the incapable. They let each and every one of these individuals do his or her duty and get an appropriate share in the social wealth." This is a theory of distribution which gives to each person his due according to his position in society. Such a palpably unequal distribution of wealth is justified because it is only fair to give more to the deserving and less to the undeserving. If we were to give the same amount of the good things of life to one and all, irrespective of their social status, and allow them to lead similar ways of life, it would be tantamount to making things equal

which, by nature, are essentially unequal and that would be manifestly unreasonable.

As the *Book of Li* has said: "*Li* is a regulator of human desires that has been devised for the protection of the people." Though human desires cannot be checked, their unrestrained expression is fraught with dangerous consequences. That is where *li* comes in to regulate them and prevent them from running wild. In fact, *li* is an important factor in the cultivation of the human personality.

Thirdly, it is *li* that helps us cultivate moral habits. The regulation of ethical relations and human desires, which we have just discussed, is aimed at the creation of such a social atmosphere that the activities of every person from childhood to old age will all conform to the rules of *li* and *yi*. Or as the *Book of Li* puts it, such a social atmosphere "will have the effect of causing people to nip evil in the bud and making them cautious even in little and insignificant things. In this way, they will be daily going towards good and away from evil without their ever being conscious of it at all." This is what we call the cultivation of moral habits.

In other words, *li* is a form of social control which operates to prevent evil from arising. This may be likened to the situation of a family which daily cultivates healthy habits to prevent diseases. But if any member of the family has already fallen victim to a certain disease, he must have the services of a physician to cure it. *Li* and law may be regarded in the same light in so far as prevention and punishment of crimes are concerned. To quote the *Book of Li* once more: "*Li* forbids trespasses *before* they are committed, whereas law punishes criminal acts *after* their commission." The rules of *li* may be compared to a treatise on hygiene and codes of law to medical works—for society as a whole.

Being convinced of the vital functions of *li*, the Confucianists call all rules which uphold moral habits and serve to maintain social order by the generic name of *li*. An ordinary person will not, except under extraordinary circumstances, commit murder, arson, rape, or robbery, because he is under the influence of the moral atmosphere in which he lives. The prevention of crimes is one of the uses of moral habits.

The Confucianists know that if you wish to strengthen men's moral habits, you must first of all create a strong atmosphere in which *li* and *yi* prevail. That is why they pay so much attention to ceremonies pertaining to *li* and *yueh* (樂 music). One Chou Feng was quoted by the *Book of Li* as

saying: "In the graveyard you do not have to ask people to mourn and they will mourn; in the temples where the gods and the departed spirits of the Imperial family are worshipped, you do not have to ask people to show a respectful demeanor and they will show a respectful demeanor." That is so, because there is a mourning atmosphere in the graveyard and a respectful atmosphere in the temples. The Confucianist's emphasis on *li* and *yueh* is quite in line with the principles of religious psychology and educational psychology.

The Chinese conception of *li* is pretty like the Western conception of natural law that prevailed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Being unwritten, natural law is a set of rules which judge human conduct by means of man's rational faculties. The origin of natural law is found in the reason of man. As the reason of man is unchanging, natural law also never changes and is applicable to all times and places.

As to whether man-made laws are rational and proper, the question can be answered only by measuring them with the yardstick of natural law. According to Confucius, "*Li* is reason itself." In the view of Hsun Tzu, "*Li* is reason that remains constant and never changes." *Li* is, in other words, the practical application of reason that transcends both time and place. As Cheng Hao, a philosopher of the northern Sung dynasty (960-1127) has said, "There is reason in all things. If we conform to it, we shall find it easy and simple. But if we contravene it, we shall meet with difficulties. If we do everything according to its reason, why is it necessary to make any efforts at all?" This natural reason as manifested in human conduct is what we call *li*. In fine, *li* is nothing but reason. It has originated in man's rational faculties and ever remains the same and never changes. Therefore, we may rightly say that *li* is comparable to natural law.

According to the Confucianists, human nature, whether it be good or evil in the beginning, can be changed through the influence of moral persuasion, which is more efficacious than other methods. Said Confucius: "Guide the people with political measures and control or regulate them by the threat of punishment, and the people will try to keep out of jail, but will have no sense of honor or shame. Guide the people by virtue and control or regulate them by *li*, and the people will have a sense of honor and respect." And again: "In presiding over lawsuits, I am as good as any man. The thing is to aim so that there should be no lawsuits." What Confucius meant was that to hold court and hear cases was a simple thing which any person was capable of doing, but to exert moral influence on people and convince them of the necessity of conforming to the moral law, thus causing them voluntarily to

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refrain from evil-doing and putting an end to all crimes and litigations, was much more difficult and therefore more praiseworthy.

Keeping this in mind, we shall be able to understand what our ancient philosophers meant when they said: "It is the function of law to punish the criminal and not to make people into saints." "Law can punish people but cannot make them incorruptible; it can kill people but cannot make them kind and humane." Hence the ancient sages tell us that "a prince is quick to teach but slow to punish."

It will be seen from the above that, according to the Confucian view, the goodness or badness of an individual's conduct is determined by his education which, in turn, is influenced by the personality of the rulers. Therefore, the Confucianists are also advocates of rule by man or government by moral example. The following passages are illustrative:

Said Confucius: "Politics is a matter of moral rectitude. If you lead the people by moral rectitude, who dares to deviate from the path of virtue?" "When the ruler does what is right, he will have influence over the people without giving commands. And when the ruler does not do what is right, all his commands will be of no avail." "If a ruler rectifies his own conduct, government is an easy matter, and if he does not rectify his own conduct, how can he rectify others?"

When Duke Ai asked Confucius how the government could win popular approval, the Master replied, "If you give recognition to the just and turn away the unjust, you will win popular approval. But if you give recognition to the unjust and turn away the just, you will not win popular approval."

A passage in *The Great Learning* says: "There has never been any case in which the authorities show genuine interest in *jen* (仁) and yet the people are indifferent to *yi* (義). "Mencius expressed a similar idea when he said: "If the authorities are interested in anything, the people will certainly show still greater interest in it."

Says Tseng Kuo-fang, a scholar-statesman of the nineteenth century: "What is it that shapes the general tone of society, or the social atmosphere? It is shaped by that upon which a few leading spirits set their hearts." That is why Hsun Tzu comes to such conclusions as these: "There is only rule by man, but no rule by law." "When you have got the right man in office, the nation will be preserved. But if you lose his services, the nation will decay." "There have been instances in which, in spite of good laws, social

anarchy has prevailed; but we have never heard of a single instance in all history in which a nation, with gentlemen in power, has ever experienced social anarchy."

All this goes to show that the order and disorder of a nation, or its rise and fall, do not depend upon its laws and legal institutions, but rather upon its ability or inability to obtain the services of virtuous men. A nation with virtuous men at the helm of the ship of state will prosper, but a nation without such men will go down to perdition. This theory of rule by man, or government by moral example, has left deep imprints on the political developments of later generations.

II. Origins and Development of the Legalist School of Thought

The Legalist school of thought arose in the middle of the Age of Warring States and reached its highest development by the end of that era. Strictly speaking, however, certain rudimentary legalistic ideas might even be found in the preceding Age of Spring and Autumn. For example, there is this significant passage in the chronicle of the Age of Spring and Autumn as recorded by Cho Chiu-ming: "Tzu Chan on his deathbed warned his son Tai Shu with these words: 'It is only the virtuous who can command the obedience of the people by magnanimity. Next to magnanimity, nothing is more effective than being fierce and making people fear you. As fire is so fierce and inspires fear in those who see it from a distance, few persons die from it. But as water is so soft and gentle and invites people to play with it, many die from it.'" This is an instance of legalistic thinking.

The theory of rule by law as advocated by the Legalists in ancient China had a twofold objective: to respect the position and prerogatives of the prince and to support authoritarian policies. But the theory of rule by law as practised in the modern democratic countries is aimed at the attainment of equality and the strengthening of democratic institutions. In a modern democracy, all persons are equal before the law. No exceptions to this rule are permitted. This difference between the ancient Chinese theory and the modern Western theory should be pointed out so as to prevent any possible misunderstanding.

The following passages from ancient Chinese Legalists are illustrative of their basic ideas:

"Of all the important possessions of the prince, nothing is more important

than laws and decrees. When the importance of laws and decrees is recognized, the prince will be respected. When the prince is respected, the country will be peaceful. On the contrary, if the laws and decrees are taken lightly by the people, the prince will be looked down upon. If the prince is looked down upon, the country will be in danger. Therefore, in order to have peace you must respect the prince; in order to respect the prince you must enforce laws and decrees; in order to enforce laws and decrees you must impose heavy punishments. With heavy punishments and the enforcement of laws and decrees, all government officials will do their duties conscientiously through fear. But with light punishments and the lax enforcement of laws and decrees, all government officials will be negligent in the performance of their duties." —Kuan Tzu.

"Indulgence is the deadly enemy of the people. The people's relation to law is like that between parents and children." —Kuan Tzu.

"The way to manage the affairs of a state consists in making the people look up to the prince for guidance and deciding all things according to law." —Teng Si.

These well-known passages from the works of Chinese Legalists give us an exposition of the importance of the rule of law, which is regarded by the Legalist school of thought as a prerequisite to good government. *Six Chapters on Legal Institutes* written by Li Hui, Prime Minister of Marquis Wen of Wei, was the first written code of law in Chinese history. When Prime Minister Shan Yan of the Kingdom of Chin proposed a reorganization of the country's legal system, he based his proposals mainly on Li's *Six Chapters* and insisted on severe punishments and the stringent application of laws. He devised a system of joint responsibility whereby anyone who failed to inform the authorities of acts of traitors would be executed by having his body severed into two halves at the waist, and anyone who informed the authorities of acts of traitors would be rewarded like one who had cut off an enemy's head. Any person who harbored a traitor would be punished like one who had surrendered himself to the enemy. When the law was promulgated, he set an example for the people by punishing the tutor of the Crown Prince for the latter's failure to obey the law. Within the short space of three years, the Kingdom of Chin became a well-governed country. In this way, force and coercion had proved to be effective instruments of government.

In addition to the above-mentioned writers, other great Legalists of the Age of Warring States included Shen Tao, Ying Wen, and Han Fei, the last one being the greatest of them all. Said Han: "As a family noted for

the strictness of its discipline cannot possibly have any rude slaves and as a kindhearted mother is likely to have spoiled sons, I am thereby convinced that force and power can suppress violence and that kindness and leniency cannot put an end to social anarchy." Similarly, Shen Tao said: "We should rely more on law than on personalities, more on law than on tact." It will be seen from all this that the Legalists attach the greatest importance to the rule of law, which they consider to be indispensable if there is to be lasting peace and prosperity. Their theories are a denial of the Confucian theses that "There is only rule by man, but no rule by law." and that "When you have got the right in office, the nation will prosper; but when the man passes away, the nation will decay." Such theories are clearly the antithesis of rule by *li*.

As we have indicated above, the rule by *li* is a theory based on inequalities. This idea is clearly expressed in the *Book of Li* which says: "*Li* does not apply to the common people, and punishments cannot be imposed on officials with the rank of *ta fu*." But the Legalists hold that all persons, except the prince himself, are completely equal and that there can be no other exceptions. Let the Legalist writers explain their own views:

"Punishments take no cognizance of the positions of offenders. All persons, from ministers of state and generals down to officials with the rank *ta fu* and the common people, if they do not obey the royal laws or commit acts forbidden by the government and destroy the institutions set up by the prince, shall be subject to the death penalty without clemency." — Shan Yan.

"In punishing offenders, even ministers of state shall not be allowed to escape. In rewarding the good, even the common people should not be left out." — Han Fei.

"Both high and low, both the noble and the ignoble, are afraid of each other lest they be caught in the toils of the law." — Kuan Tzu.

"One's own blood and flesh may be subject to punishment; one's relatives may be exterminated. But the law may not be allowed to become a dead letter." — Shen Tao.

Those quotations show that in the view of the Chinese Legalists laws are egalitarian and should be universally applicable to all persons without discrimination. This is essentially different from the views of the Confucianists.

According to the Confucianists, to love one's close relatives is the basic

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principle of human conduct. Hence they say: "If the prince³ is solicitous for the welfare of his relatives, the people will be inspired by kindness towards others. When he does not forget his old friends and associates, the people will not be cold and indifferent." "When everybody loves his closest relatives and respect his elders, there will be peace through the whole world."

But the Legalists are firmly opposed to the Confucian theory of loving one's closest relatives. Disregarding personal likes and dislikes, what counts with them is simply objective acts. The following are samples of Legalist thinking:

"If a prince has no use for laws and is fond of rendering personal favors, it will lead to social chaos."—Kuan Tzu.

"When the prince and his ministers leave law on one side and decide all matters according to personal likes and dislikes, the country will be in chaos. Therefore, to enact laws and prescribe the people's rights and duties and not to derogate from the dignity of the law for personal reasons will bring about peace in the country."—Shan Yan.

"When you are too tender and kindhearted, you cannot have any laws. There is no greater function of law than to prevent personal considerations from having their way."—Shen Tao.

"To enact a law and at the same time to render personal favors in violation of it is as good as setting up a rival authority against law. The chaos that ensues from such a situation is worse than having no law at all. Therefore, a country that is peaceful and prosperous must be one in which, as a result of the enactment of laws, personal favors will no longer be permitted."—Shen Tao.

"In following the Duke to war, the people of Lu were defeated in three successive battles. On being asked the reason for such a strange outcome by Confucius, the soldiers replied that they had old fathers who would have no one to support them if they themselves should be killed in war. Considering these men to be filial sons, Confucius recommended them for promotion."—Han Fei.

"There was in the kingdom of Chu a man noted for his straightforwardness. On learning that his father had stolen a sheep, he told the local authorities of the theft. This young man was later on ordered by the magistrate to be killed for having been just to the king but unjust to his father."—Han Fei.

On this interesting case Confucius had also expressed his one views, saying: "Among us a person noted for his straightforwardness would not act this way. With us, the father would try to protect his son, and the son his father—by concealing any crime either might have committed. Therein lies straightforwardness."

From the two examples of the defeated soldiers and the sheep-stealing father cited above, we can appreciate the different standpoints of the Confucianists and the Legalists. From the Legalist point of view, the son who shows filial piety towards his father is a subject who has betrayed his prince; and the son who betrays his father is a loyal subject. Thus you can never reconcile the conflict between public and private interests. As Han Fei has put it, "With the execution by the magistrate of the young man who had informed on his father, no more crimes in the Kingdom of Chu were ever reported to the authorities. With the recommendation for promotion by Confucius of soldiers who had been defeated in war, the people of Lu were easily encouraged to surrender to the enemy. How different are the interests of the government and of the people."

For the benefit of the country, it is only right that the deserving should be rewarded and the criminal should be executed, and that those who permit themselves to be defeated on the battlefield for the sake of their old fathers should not be forgiven. But for a son to inform on his father is a questionable practice from the point of view of human nature and of ethical relations. According to the Law of Criminal Procedure of the Republic of China, a person has the right to refuse to give testimony against his blood relations within five degrees of consanguinity and against collateral relatives within three degrees of consanguinity. If the testimony against such persons cannot be permitted, how can any individual be allowed to accuse his own parents and grandparents? That is why the Chinese Law of Criminal Procedure provides that no one should bring a suit against his parents and grandparents. As law has sometimes to take ethical relationships into consideration, there is an evident need for coordination between law and morality.

The Confucianists advocated paternal government, as may be demonstrated by this passage from Mencius: "Given a compassionate heart, the ancient rulers adopted compassionate policies. To carry out compassionate policies with a compassionate heart, you will be able to manage the affairs of state as easily as manipulating something on the palm of your hand." Similarly, the *Book of History* says: "When you cannot be certain of a crime, you should punish the suspect lightly. When you cannot be certain of meritorious acts, you should give the individuals concerned the best possible rewards.

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Rather than kill the innocent, you should prefer to err on the side of leniency."

But the Legalists deny the validity of such theories as may be shown by a few more quotations from Han Fei: To be excessively lenient "May be likened to a tender-hearted mother who spoils her child by pampering him. This will certainly end in encouraging the criminal by unnecessary indulgence and setting people to commit evil acts."

The next passage from Han Fei has already been quoted but bears repeating: "As a family noted for the strictness of its discipline cannot possibly have any rude slaves and as a kindhearted mother is likely to have spoiled sons, I am thereby convinced that force and power can suppress violence and that kindness and leniency cannot put an end to social anarchy." Therefore, the Legalists are in favor of strict punishments and do not care a whit for humanity and leniency.

Other passages couched in the same vein may be quoted:

"It is by means of strict penalties and heavy punishments that the affairs of state are managed."—Han Fei.

"Nothing is more basic for putting an end to crimes than the imposition of heavy penalties."—Shan Yan.

"In order to carry out the government's decrees, it is necessary to impose heavy penalties."—Kuan Tzu.

"A wise Prince has a clear knowledge of the basic principles that make the people behave. And no other principle is more basic than law. That is why it is provided that anyone who fails to come up to the standards set by law shall die, anyone who oversteps the provisions of law shall die, anyone who does not carry out the law shall die, anyone who causes delays in the execution of law shall die, and anyone who does not obey the law shall die. When you make any one of these five counts a death penalty without benefit of mercy, everybody will then conform to law."—Kuan Tzu.

Those who advocate this theory want to resort to intimidations to cow the people into submission. They would not only impose suitable penalties to punish the criminal, but also use extraordinary penalties, in addition, in order to give vent to their cruel nature. They do not know that the aim of punishing a criminal is to enable him to get rid of his anti-social habits and

to reform his natural evil propensities so as to prevent the same thing from happening again and abolish crimes altogether. In imposing penalties and punishments, we should pay attention to the criminal's receptivity, his adaptability, and the effects of punishment on him. Only in this way can we realize the aims of penalties and punishments. Though the Legalist's advocacy of strict penalties and severe punishments may silence opposition and make the people submissive, in the end it will lead to gross tyranny and inhumanity. Judged from the point of view of modern penal policies, the Legalist ideas are highly questionable.

III. Coordination Between Li and Law

During the Age of Spring and Autumn and that of the Warring States, different schools of thought flourished side by side. The principal contestants in this war of ideas were the Confucianists, Moists, Taoists, and Legalists. But beginning with the raising of Confucianism to a status of supreme authority and the simultaneous relegation of the other schools of thought to the background in the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 9), Confucian teachings were again in the ascendant. In the Code of Law drawn up by Prime Minister Hsiao Ho and the Court Ceremonials formulated by Shusun Tung, *li* was coordinated with law and both were made to complement each other. In the next 2,100 years since then, this mutual coordination between *li* and law has dominated Chinese political thinking. The fact is that the ministers entrusted with the task of drawing up codes of law in the various dynasties were all scholars well versed in the Confucian classics who, while working on their codes, unconsciously inject into them moral ideas and concepts of *li*. In this way, Confucian teachings have become an integral and important part of Chinese codes of law throughout the last two millennia.

Being written by Confucian scholars, successive Chinese codes of law are characterized by their adherence to orthodox Confucian ideas. Consequently, though there have been additions and deletions in certain chapters and items in the different historical codes and though the punishments provided in them might have been sometimes light and sometimes heavy, the entire system of law, its basic concepts, and its traditional spirit have always been consistent throughout the ages. Not only that, Chinese judges, when they decided cases, were often guided, besides the explicit provisions of the law, by the opinions of Confucian scholars, by the principles embodied in the *Book of Spring and Autumn* written by Confucius himself, and by the views expressed by the great sage in his own writings and elsewhere.

As a matter of fact, the coordination of Confucian and Legalist thoughts

had its origin in very ancient times. Though the Legalists had no use for the rule of *li*, the Confucianists did not reject the rule of law altogether. Examples of the Confucian attitude may be found in the execution of Kuen by Emperor Shun for his failure to tame the floods, the execution of Kwan Shu and the exile of Tsai Shu for the part they had taken in a rebellion against the government, and the execution of Shao Cheng-mow by Confucius when the latter was Prime Minister of Lu. These illustrative examples go to show that the Confucianists were also in favor of using punishments, whenever necessary, and the rule of law. Said Confucius: "If *li* and *yueh* do not flourish, punishments are not likely to be just right. If punishments are not just right, the people will not know what to do." In speaking of *li yueh* and punishments in the same breath, Confucius was worrying that punishments imposed by the authorities might not be just right. If they were just right, he was still in favor of using them as instruments of government to buttress the rule of *li*.

The attitude of Hsun Tzu towards the same subject is shown in the following passages:

"The principal instruments of government are *li* and punishment."

"Anyone who comes with a good record should be treated with *li*; anyone who comes with a bad record should be given punishment."

"If a murderer does not die for his crime, or if a person who has inflicted physical injuries on another does not receive due punishment, this is tantamount to encouraging the use of violence and being lenient to the criminal. If you do this, you are not a hater of evil deeds."

Hsun Tzu not only was in favor of using punishments, but also held that their degree of severity should be determined by the actual circumstances in which the crimes had been committed. He did not advocate that all criminals should be lightly punished. Hence he maintained that "when the punishments imposed by the authorities just fit the crimes, the country will enjoy peace and order; but if they do not fit the crimes, the country will be in chaos."

Tung Chung-shu, an eminent Confucian scholar of the Western Han dynasty, saw an analogy between what the government did to administer the country and the seasonal changes of nature. A few quotations from him will show what his views were:

"You cannot dispense with either punishments or moral persuasion and

put sole reliance on the other. To rely upon either one alone is like to have only *yin* or *yang* (the negative and positive principles in Chinese metaphysics) without its opposite. You cannot have only spring and summer without autumn and winter."

"In the administration of a country, a sage ruler should make the people have something to like, they may then be subject to encouragement which is what rewards are designed for. When the people have something to like, they must also have something to hate. When they have something to hate, they may then be subject to fear which is what punishments are designed for. When the people are subject to both encouragement and fear, then they can be easily ruled."

Tung Chung-shu not only held theoretically that you cannot dispense with either punishments or moral persuasion and put sole reliance on the other, but also made judicial judgements on the basis of the principles enunciated in the *Book of Spring and Autumn* and interpreted laws in the light of Confucian classical teachings. It was he who at once steeped himself in Confucianism and administered the affairs of state in accordance with law. It was he who built a bridge between rule by moral persuasion and rule by law and reconciled the teachings of Confucianism with those of Legalism.

Being based on *li*, the Tang Code was the most perfect and standardized of all written codes of law in Chinese history. As it has well said: "That which deviates from *li* comes within the competence of legal penalties. Violations of *li* are subject to punishment." And again: "It is only when a man runs foul of *li* and *yi* in his heart that he comes into collision with penal law." The following are examples of the provisions of the Tang Code:

In judicial hearings, consideration should be given to the close relations between father and son. Of the three thousand crimes subject to five kinds of punishment, the greatest is an unfilial act which is one of the ten worst crimes topping the whole list of lesser ones.

When the parents are still living, the son shall not accumulate private wealth. The accumulation of private wealth under such circumstances is a crime.

The period of mourning after the death of one's father or mother is three years. Any person who takes off his mourning garments and puts on ordinary dress during the period of mourning has committed a crime. Any person who becomes a parent through the birth of a child during the period of mourning

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has committed a crime. Any person, whether a man or a woman, who gets married during the period of mourning has committed a crime. Any person who keeps his bereavement secret has committed a crime.

One does not live under the same heaven with the enemy of one's father. A son who avenges his father may usually obtain pardon for his crime, or commutation of his sentence. According to the principle that a son will naturally conceal his father's criminal acts and a father will conceal his son's, any person who harbors his father or son who has committed a crime shall not be considered as having committed a criminal act.

Any person who pretends to be ill in order to escape legal punishment shall be given thirty strokes of flogging; anyone who purposely injures or cripples himself shall be imprisoned for one and a half years.

Any person who injures or cripples himself shall be considered to have done so intentionally in order to escape legal punishment, even if he has not done so with such an intention.

As a person's body, hairs, and skins, are all given him by his parents, anyone who inflicts injuries on himself shall be considered to have committed an unfilial act. For according to the laws of the ancient rulers, it is forbidden not only to injure other persons, but acts of self-injury and self-crippling are also not allowed.

These illustrative provisions of the Tang Code should suffice to show that there is in it a close coordination between *li* and law. This applies not only to the Tang Code, but also to the Sung Penal Code, the Ming Code, the Tsing Code, and the current Civil and Criminal Laws of the Republic of China.

Re-Valuation of Ancient Chinese City Planning

By *Yu-tsun Lu* (盧毓駿)

A. Brief Historical View of Physical Planning

Speaking of Chinese city, town and country planning, we must first bear in mind that science and technology often change, but ethics, being true of all times, never changes. Consequently, community (the term community is here applied to include cities of all sizes and rural settlements) planning and development involves not so much of the physical structure in itself, but a conformity to the requirement of soundness in the light of social structure. The Chinese realized this from very early time and have always endeavored to express it in their physical planning.

Furthermore there is a new awakening or consensus of opinion at the various international academic seminars and conferences that cultural exchanges among nations easily lead to ideological confusions in the initial stages. An easy way out seems that, in order to promote the progress of the cultures of human society, the national must accept the spirit of the times on the one hand, and exert to propagate their sound cultural traditions on the other, so that they will achieve better mutual understanding and cooperation. In the present part, the author wishes to present to his readers briefly the physical planning in ancient China.

The evolution of Chinese city and country planning took in ancient times are:

a) "Ching Tien" (well-field) system of settlement planning, by Yellow Emperor (f. 2674 B.C.)

This system is believed to be initiated by the Yellow Emperor. The Pictographic character *Ching* is composed of two parallel vertical bars overlaid on two parallel horizontal bars expressing the meaning 'well.' It was actually a device which, subdividing land into nine squares of equal size, could well utilize all kinds of terrain, and which was a form of settlement or rural planning using the plotting plan for its basis of neighborhood unit. An imagined model of the plotting plan as compared to the neighborhood-unit of today has

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been made by the author following the specifications from historical records (Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao, 'Study on ancient documents and institution'); it is now placed on exhibition at the National Historical Museum of Taiwan, Taipei. Its features may be summarized as follows:

1. The unit cell scheme has two exact or nearly exact north-south parallel roads crossing two exact or nearly exact parallel roads to form the road pattern.

2. The unit was allotted to eight families, each of which lived and farmed one of the plots surrounding the middle square.

3. A well was dug in the central plot for communal use. This fact may be proved by the remote pictographic character (well), which is composed a more dot in the middle of the word.

4. Existence was unified with production by the system, the eight families living under it helping each other on all matters.

The system is said to have ten functions in historical records, and these, when interpreted in modern terms, tally with the spirit underlying community and neighborhood planning as advocated by Western city-planners of the last thirty years. All developments, social, economic and cultural, are made through the physical planning of the ching-shaped unit under the system. For more detail, the reader is referred to 'Town, City and Regional Planning' by the same author.

In China, one is said to be 'Pei Ching Li Hsiang' when one goes away from home. It means that one 'leaves behind the well' as well as his country, and the expression is especially significant if we consider it to mean the ching-shaped cell-unit reflective of integration of physical and social structures rather than the well at home from which drinking water is drawn for the family, as earlier scholars were wont to interpret.

b) City and country planning of the Chou Dynasty (1122-247 B.C.)

1) Balanced communities between rural and urban populations:

According to the *Rites of Chou (Chou Li)*, the system prevailing at the time was this: in suburban areas near the imperial capital, five families constituted a *lin* (neighborhood unit), five *lin* constituted a *Li* (community), in which was erected a *shih* (community shrine) that corresponded to the country center building in the community planning of modern times. The *shih* was consecrated to the earth god, illustrative of the close affinity between

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the agricultural society and soil. Celebrations at the shih are still traceable in the 'pai pai' or festivities on Taiwan today. By such celebrations, in which the whole neighborhood participated, ancient people hoped to achieve social structural purpose. This preoccupation of the Chinese with the social structure of a community is best evidenced by the following T'ang poem:

"Beneath the Ohu Mountain the grains are growing,
while the pig sties and chicken runs are closed,
For the spring shih is breaking up when the mulberry trees lengthen
their shadows,
And each family is carrying home its drunken member."

Farther away from the imperial capital, the system varied a little. There five families constituted a *pi*, and five *pi* constituted a *lu*, which means companionship, indicating that the twenty five families therein ought to live happily together as companions.

The book 'Mencius' often places the number of members for each family at eight persons. The figure must have been fair average of ancient times. It follows then that a *lu* was made up with 200 persons and surrounded with a precinct. (wall of *Lu*)

The chapter on imperial institutions (Wang Chih P'ien) in the Book of Rites assures us that the population in the city and rural districts was balanced in view of economical and social development.

2) Classification of traffic roads: In the Rites of Chou, four types and three classes of traffic roads have been mentioned:

- a) Ching-tu, meaning longitudinal or lengthwise avenues, 17m. wide;
- b) Wei-tu, meaning latitudinal or crosswise avenues, 17m. wide;
- c) Huan-tu, corresponding to modern ring which encircles the city and was 9.5m. wide;
- d) Yeh-tu, meaning country road or the main roads outside urban areas.

3) City planning of the capitals:

1. Scale and size; According to *Kao Kung Chi*, Book of Rites, the imperial capital of the Chou Dynasty was a square walled city nine li long on each of its four sides. The square gave way to oblong during the T'an and Sung Dynasties more than 1,00 years later. On each of the city wall there

were three gateways, each with three portals which connected the nine longitudinal and the nine latitudinal avenues that criss-crossed the city and that formed the local main traffic pattern.

As for the capitals of the fendal lords and nobilities, the Commentaries on the Book of History says that they were determined by the ranks of the dignitaries involved. A duke might have a capital of 7 li on each of its four sides or 9 sq. km. A marquis or a viscount, 5 li or 6.5 sq. km. A baron or a baronet, 3 li or 3.85 sq. km.

The Spring-Autumn Annals reports: "The size of the large city must not exceed one third the area of the imperial capital, that is, no more than 5 sq. km.; the medium, one fifth, that is, 3 sq. km.; and the small, one ninth, that is, 1.7 sq. km.

2. Street traffic and design:

The width of the roads was determined by the number of tracks of carriages intended to travel on them. An avenue usually was as wide as the combined width of the wheel breadths of nine carriages going abreast. As the regular breadth between Chou carriage wheels was 6.6 Chou foot (a Chou foot = 0.24 km.), and spacing between any two carriages traveling together was fixed at 0.8 foot, the width of the roads, in terms of the meter system, was 17 meters—rather an impressive figure when we consider that this was some 3000 years ago.

The roads were divided into three ways: The middle one was for carriages and other wheeled conveyance while the rest were sidewalks complete with shade trees. The reader is referred to 'Chinese Architecture, City Planning and Garden-designing Reflective of Organic Civilization', by the same author, which treats the subject in a more elaborate manner.

3. Zoning system or land-use plan

In the Chou capital, the courts were up front and the market places where in the back, each occupying the area of one *fu*. The *fu* was a measurement equal to 100×100 paces, so that the business and administrative districts were separately accommodated on 2.1 hectares of land. At the time, there were three courts, the inner, the executive and the outer, which, according to Kao Kung Chi, were situated inside the imperial palace of 900 paces in perimeter in the exact center of the city. There were also three market places. The grand mart was behind the administrative district and in the middle of the market zone, while the morning mart was on its east and the

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evening Mart, its west. All in all, the three courts and three markets occupied 0.126 sq. km. or 12.6 hectares out of the capital's 15 sq. km. or 1,500 hectares. The remaining spaces were devoted to residential, traffic, open and green surface purposes.

4. Parks: According to Mencius, the park of King Wen of Chou was 70 li in square. Such a park of 90 sq. km. or 9,000 hectares had to be placed outside the city limits.

5. Country planning; The rural community of the time, though still retained the ching-tien system of the Yellow Emperor, it was nevertheless slightly different from the older institution when examined closely in accordance with the description system by Mencius (f. 400 B.B.) In the latter system, though each piece of land was still divided into nine squares of equal size, and parceled out to nine families with each one farming one of the outlying plots, the central plot was no longer devoted to the digging of a well, but was cultivated by all nine families and its yield went to the feudal overlord.

c) The t'ing of Ch'in (221-206 B.C.) and Han (206 B.C.-A.D.220) Dynasties:

T'ing was the nucleus of local communities in a region and the lowest administrative unit in the Ch'in and Han Dynasties. It was said to be composed of the *li* during Ch'in, *Li* here being an administrative unit instead of the measurement of distance. We have already from preceding paragraphs that the *li* was made up with twenty five families and had a shih erected in suitable place of its confines. According to the History of Han, the t'ing was composed of 10 *li*. and 10 *li* made up a *hsiang* (country). The t'ing was administered by a chief. The Han system was slightly at variance with that of the Chou Dynasty, when five *li* made a *chan* and five *chan* made a *hsien* and five *hsien* made a *shuei*. As the size of the *li* did not change it is evident that the t'ing of the Ch'in and Han Dynasties was actually a new planning unit much larger than the *chan* unit of the earlier dynasty and had 250 families in it instead of 125. Computed at the average of eight persons for each family, the t'ing then had a population of 2,000 persons, exactly the ideal size for a contemporary country, for there would be enough people in it to support the establishment of a primary school.

The area of the t'ing considering the land needed by 250 families living in it for residential and agricultural purposes, had to have at least an area of 10 li (measurement) in both its length and width; that is, the distance be-

tween any two t'ing had to be 10 li. This computation coincides⁹ with the entries of *Shih Ming (A Lexicon of Names)*, which says that a li (community unit) was one square li (measurement) in area.

T'ing was of two kinds: near the capital was the capital t'ing and the rest were the lower t'ing. The scale was different.

d) Chang-An during the Dynasties of Han and T'ang (618-906)

Most of the ancient capitals and major cities in North China (south of the Great Wall but north of the Yangtse River) have been designed and built on the principle of formal beauty expressed by geometric patterns. Those cities situated in the eastern part of the former 'Middle Plain' with the province of Honan as its central region are especially typical in this respect. On the other hand, cities south of the Yangtse are organic structures of informal beauty. Of the former kind, the most easily accessible historical city is Chang-An, capital of the T'ang Dynasty, some of whose features are still traceable in Peiping, and which, together with Loyang of the Sui Dynasty, has served as the blueprint for the plans on which two Japanese cities of great renown, Nara and Kyoto, were originally built. Kyoto remains to this day as an example of formal beauty in architecture. Peiping having been the capital of the Yuan (1280-1363), Ming (1368-1644) and Ch'ing (1644-1912) dynasties, is beyond doubt the sum total of traditional Chinese city-planning and one of the loveliest cities in the world.

B. Characteristics of the Physical Planning of Traditional Chinese Cities in General

1) City Wall: The city wall of a city may be one or two rings of earth or masonry, only the latter form is found just in cities which have been the capital of some ancient dynasty or state. In Chang-An, representative of imperial capitals, there were three rings of walls. The innermost and extreme north was the great interior of forbidden city resided strictly by the members and attendants of the royal household. Next to it was the inner city, which sits also in the central area of the extreme north. Next to the inner city was the outer city which is lived by the people. A line from some T'ang poem reads:

"I live in the city within a city,
next to the imperial park."

Thus, though this form of the city may appear more or less reminiscent

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of the Western cities which expanded along the form of the concentric ring, the Chinese never used that form of expansion. Instead, when the population had reached the point of saturation and the building of a new city became unavoidable, they would expand the city in one given direction only. For example, Peiping originally expanded southward.

Ordinary cities have only one city wall, but near the city gate the wall is doubled. The space between the doubled city wall is called the casket or crescent city from its shape.

The cities are generally rectangular, though along the coast they may be elliptical (as the old city of Shanghai) or round (as the existing Town of Hengchun, Taiwan), in which cases the form is a device against hurricanes prevailing in such areas.

2) City gates: Except the capitals which, in the tradition of the Chou Dynasty, generally have twelve gateways, the number of gates is usually determined by geographic condition and communication requirements, though four gates respectively set in four cardinal directions are invariably provided.

3) Moats: These are mostly artificial waterway and formed, wherever possible, by diverting water from natural rivers, in which case the choice of the city site is aimed at the attainment of 'having a mountain as the city's hem and a river as its girdle.' They are encircling immediately outside the city walls for defensive purposes.

4) City-gate towers: Atop each city gate is a magnificent watch tower in two stories high.

5) Street pattern and traffic road: In North China cities, the street pattern follows the formal layout and is geometric but also impregnated with the cell-organism of the *ching* system, and therefore the inner meaning is at complete divergence with the checkboard or gridiron street system of the cities in the West, though in appearance the two kinds of pattern are quite alike.

In South China, street pattern of the cities belong to the informal layout and is organic in pattern. Thus in hilly towns the contour lines determine the street pattern while in river cities the main streets develop along the waterways.

In early times, main traffic roads were formed by the criss-cross longitu-

dinal and latitudinal avenues with the same width. Later on⁴ more stress was placed on the south-north axiality, and the longitudinal roads became wider. This alternation may have come about from the change in the form of the city from the square to the rectangular since T'ang dynasty.

6) Non-traffic and cul-de-sac roads: In the west, the division of roads into the traffic and the non-traffic to facilitate the fulfilment of their separate functions is a planning concept of very recent origin, but not so in China. The residential streets always function only as approaches to traffic roads and residences are never supposed to be built on traffic roads, even though business stores are. The so-called rear-streets usually paralleling the main traffic roads used as service roads.

Cul-du-sac roads denote the dead lanes commonly used as minor roads in residential areas in South cities. They stress the distinction between traffic and non-traffic roads and are conducive to defense of the households.

7) Bell and drum towers: These are tall, magnificent buildings standing opposite each other in the downtown area of most of the major Chinese cities, just as a medieval European city had a cathedral as its dominant feature. They were placed as a manifestation of physical and social structures, the bell being formerly rung at set intervals in the morning to awaken the people and call them to work while the drum being beaten to tell people the time to rest. Third rolling of the drum at midnight announced the curfew.

8) Building lots and street blocks: Chang-An of T'ang Dynasty is a very illuminating specimen. Its street pattern comprised squares and oblongs. A street block (fang) contained four oblong lots separated by alleys. A palace or public building might occupy an entire fang, but a residence was allowed only one lot or one quarter of a fang. The fang was of various sizes, the smallest being a square of 350×350 paces while the largest an oblong of 650×550 paces, and the intermediate one ranged from 350×450 paces, 650×250 paces to 650×400 paces. The arrangement conformed to flexible designing.

9) Open space and green area: The traditional Chinese city and homestead plans have the advantage of automatically retaining much open space and green area, a phenomenon possibly attributable to the propagation of the ancient ideal of 'identifying man with nature,' and the ingrained notion that 'the city is the people.'

Space within the city wall or planned urban area is often a great deal

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larger than^{*} is actually required for housing. Open space immediately inside the wall is commonly reserved as cultivated area, market, gardening or drill ground. Marshy land and water ponds scattered all over the city assured the inhabitants and garrison, in great exigencies, of water supply and food.

10) Homestead building of three or four sides of a courtyard: China is perhaps the only country which has found the almost best solution of housing designs inseparable from the plan of a city. The courtyard is such an integral part of the house, so that the compound character household-courtyard is synonymous with the word family. The sanhoyuan (building on three sides) and the suhoyuan (building on four sides) with the courtyard as the center automatically provide open space and 'front yard' garden. This layout is sometimes repeated, along a north-south axiality, to form two, three or more sets of buildings at the same time.

The same layout is found, on an enlarged or modified scale, in the buildings of temples, government offices and palace.

11) Linear development of the business area: The Chinese have long realized the advisability of separating the residential (non-traffic) roads from the traffic, for in this distinguishment lies the prevention of traffic chaos. As a result of such a realization, the business stores in a Chinese town have always been built along the main traffic roads and streets in a linear fashion, though residences invariably develop behind the rear streets. The phenomenon might also be attributable to the linear development of early settlements.

12) The community center: This is formed by the administrative offices and other public buildings which were always situated in the center of a city. While compactness was the aim, efforts were made to make the buildings look loose knitted and they were not congregated on one spot.

C. Analysis

1. Analyses of Socio-Economic Structure

1. *The wall city and the city wall:* It was a rare ancient Chinese city indeed that was not surrounded by a city wall. Furthermore, within the city wall, we find everywhere walls, walls and yet walls at the different levels of community units constituting full distinctive features of real walled cities. As a matter of fact, the Chinese ideogram cheng (城) stands both for the city and the city wall, in the same way that Chia-Ting (家庭) stands

both for family and homestead (Home-stead expressed by compound words "family-Courtyard"). The significance is that in this thinking the social and economic structures are integrated into the physical structure. The city wall naturally restricted the unlimited expansion of the city area, and had the same function as is given to the permanent green belt advocated in the planning of today, which serves to be the conspicuous boundary line between city and country. Actually the permanent green belt may be called 'invisible city wall'. The only difference between them is that the former was masonry wall city, 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in radius in the day of the horse carriage while the latter, a green belt or say invisible wall. Yet in the former's case the area was in complete agreement with the spirit of community and neighborhood-unit planning, for it had been planned and put into effect according to the human scale. It may appear that the ancient Chinese city with its surrounding wall differs from the contemporary 'permanent green belt town' (the author's coinage), or 'invisible-walled town' with 15-mile or more radius of the motor vehicle, lies in the devices adopted to define the urban limits, even though both devices are devoted alike to the realization of the same social-economic end. But the difference has sound reasons for existence. It is obvious that in ancient times, the city wall contributed to the defense of the city, to the stability of the volume and density of its population and to the promotion of the regional economic dealings and mutual profitability between the town people and the farmers; it ultimately helped the achievement of a balanced environment among the town and rural communities, as well as a framework of town proper. With the changes brought on by the times, the self-complacency inherent in a restrictive and forbidding city wall must not, to be sure, be allowed, yet its profound significance in its time should not be lost to us. I am expounding in the cause of the walled city because the highly skillful exploitation of the functions of the wall in traditional Chinese city planning make such a city the only real and unparalleled walled city in the world which has been used to achieve the real functional city.

Concerning decentralization in ancient Chinese planning, we may cite:

- 1) A new walled city usually was erected when population in the old one had reached the saturation point. It differs somewhat from some walled cities of ancient Europe, which, as the population grew, were re moved or demolished;
- 2) Population shifts from one countryside to another and not from the country to congregate in the city;
- 3) The courtyard layout contributes to reduce too much concentration.

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It is my hope that by illuminating the multiple-purpose city wall, the multiple-purpose green area (including permanent green belt, green belt and green wedge) will gain as much attention as it merits.

2. *Household and the household courtyard:*

Indeed there is the deep rooted belief in ancient China that a city without a wall did not measure up to a city, and that a household without a garden or courtyard could not properly be called a homestead. In this way, the cross section of the city would show its constituents in the order of households—fang or super-blocks (which were called li before T'ang dynasty and which corresponded to today's neighborhood unit)—districts (in Changan, during T'ang, there were the east and west districts each with its own central market)—the urban area, that is, the urban community. The whole may be classified as: city walls, Li or Fang walls and household walls, thus form the special characteristics of ancient Chinese cities.

The city planning of ancient China may be said as housing planning on an enlarged scale, while the housing planning was city planning on a reduced scale. In old-fashioned Chinese cities, large residences are still to be seen with interminable walls around them. Inside, there will be the multiply repeated quadrangle building layout, with each quadrangle a surrounding wall and gates, just like a small-sized city or town. Ancient institutions dictated that a royal palace had nine approaches of walls and gates each with its spacious courtyard and palace buildings. The type is preserved in the Forbidden City in Peiping.

So much for the Homestead-courtyard aimed at automatically producing the city of order and organic structure. Now something about how the green city was thus automatically and effectively created. In their attempt to realize the time-honored ideal of 'identifying man with nature,' the Chinese had found it necessary to 'landscape' and 'countrify' their cities. In this way was the art of artificial rock gardens invented. If the city was to be 'landscaped,' it was of course imperative that every space inside it down to the smallest homestead had to go through the process first. It was to bring about this that house and courtyard became unified, and that the two were made psychologically inseparable to the public; hence the synonymic association of the two meanings. Today we understand that we must not treat housing planning and city planning separately, but the Chinese have gone farther: they felt that in planning the house, they ought not to leave out the courtyard. The Chinese homestead differs from its Western counterpart on several counts: 1) In China the garden cordones the house, not the house the

garden; 2) The central thought behind placement of open space and gardens in China is not concentrated; 3) Spiritually, the Chinese wanted automatic order for their design and planning and were therefore unlike the Western counterpart, which stresses on legislation as represented by building and zoning regulations. To be sure, time has changed, and whether the last count is valid today is open to debate. Yet it has come to my attention that to Western tourists, the countryside of Taiwan is quite often the object of their admiration, but never the cities. Upon analysis, we may see that the reason lies in the fact that, though modern public utilities and other services have gone deep into the countryside, there the housing layout is still the customary, traditional buildings on three or four sides of a central courtyard.

3. *Aesthetic Expression and Functional Analysis*

1) *The Formal Layout*: The ideal behind the city-planning stressing formal beauty originated, I believe, with the construction of Loyi (later Loyang) by the Duke of Chou, and is historically related to the ching land subdivision system or well-field-unit planning of the Yellow Emperor. Sociologically, the Duke of Chou was dedicated to the shaping of China within the kind of civilization having its roots in the principle of "li" (禮) and "yueh" (樂), literally ceremonies and music. In matters of ceremony, order is emphasized, so that the guiding principle behind the city pattern of the time was the achievement of a high degree of order and orderliness. Straight lines and right angles are, after all, the most ordered geometric patterns. The thoughts having to do with the *ching* system or well-field neighborhood-unit may be viewed this way: it really represented sociological progress when the 'eight families making up a ching' was expanded to 'five families making up a *lin* and five *lins* making a *li*.'

Regarding the use of land based on the layout of the terrain, North China, which is a vast plain, is best suited for cities of formal beauty, so that we can not say it is not in the principle of the so-called organic concept. But it is to be pointed out that a planner inclined to formal beauty must be in possession of the organic spirit, in the same way that the planner inclined to informal beauty must be in possession of a high sense of function, if he is at all to succeed and what he creates is to achieve perfection. This spirit is not found lacking when we examine the ancient city plans of China, for the Chinese seem to have realized the prime importance of integration of geometric and organic layout, give the same effort to integrating social structure into the overall physical structure. Formal expressions are liable to relapse into uniformity and therefore monotonous, even rigid, and lacking in flexibility. But the accusation is only partly true, for in reality uniformity and monotony are distinct-

ly different things. The traditional Chinese philosophy in the field of architecture is one that seeks to reduce the complex and lean to the simple and adopts the principle of the 'less is the more', that is, to set definite and regularized patterns and small rectangular units so that popularization can be facilitated. It has an important place of self-half in the total housing program. An attempt at analyzing the existence of organic conception in the formal-beauty city of Chang-An during the T'ang Dynasty was made in 'Chinese Architecture, City-planning and Garden-designing Reflective of Organic Civilization' by the author, so further discussion may be unnecessary.

2) *The Informal Layout*: The layout of buildings and city planning in China concentrates itself on the spirit of the earth, the water, and the air, for their ambition is not to dominate nature by their creation but to coordinate with it.

To conform to the usual practice, the Chang-An of the Han Dynasty, should have been square in form, for that is the form best suited for an expression of formal beauty. But it was built in the form of a bushel, or rather the Dipper. The northern city with its zigzagging walls was like the North Dipper while the southeastern one, the South Dipper (seven stars in the constellation sagittarius). On this account the entire city was known as "the Dipper City". The city shows how much the original architects were influenced by the organic concept--so that, when it was a matter of finding the best utilization of the terrain, they were ready to sacrifice the traditional square form. The scale on which the plan for the city was made followed the tradition of the previous Chou Dynasty, and twelve gateways were provided for the city, but its esthetic effort as contained in the plan was designed to take advantage of the topographical features. It may not seem far-fetched, when we have considered these cities, to say that the culture of the Chinese people was pervaded with the liberal thought and an outlook that took the duplication of nature as something of prime importance.

3) *Integration of formal and informal beauty* (or integration of geometrical and organic pattern): We know that in very early times peasant cultures were but sparsely spread out over the land. The primitive farmers looked from the earth to the sky and back to the earth again. The earth was then thought as square, the sky, round, and the universe permeated with the creative force, psychologically, the Duke of Chou could not have been an exception. As a result, he preferred the square city shot through with organic cells as a means to attain the man-nature planning concept. This preoccupation is best illustrated by the fact that ancient Chinese city planners were less interested in the outward form than the inner meaning, which

was, after all, the underlying creative forces. This is especially evident in the building-group layout or the city plan. The result is that, though houses are arranged with an eye to uniformity and symmetry, and the three-dimensional beauty or natural feature is widely and very skillfully adopted, the attempt of emulating the beauty of nature to the formal pattern is not neglected; thus come the gardens designed for informal beauty with such efforts as to reduce the monotony of the house layout and gestures showing a desire to return to nature. The cities themselves, though square (before T'ang Dynasty) or oblong (after T'ang) in shape, yet have in the big oblong distinct smaller squares which are dealt with constituent cells. The Changan of T'ang Dynasty, for example, as far as its layout is concerned, was really composed of four oblongs, the Changan City proper, the Inner City, the Hsing-ch'ing Palace and the Taming Palace. Peiping, the old capital, is made up with three oblongs, the Inner City, the Forbidden City and the Outer City, all placed together to form an inverted "T" form. Upon close observation of the interior structure of the Chang-An of Han or T'ang and the Peking of Ch'ing, we shall be forcibly reminded of the ivory ball formed of intermittent layers, for the successive microcosms are deliberate and persistent repetitions of the form of the ever larger unit. The Chinese have not been content with this unchanging variety (square or oblong) alone. Again let us look at the ancient Peking rectangular walled city, but it was designed in three dimensions—the two-storied palaces, the towers, the gates, the artificial mountain erected with the earth taken from the lake in the course of the latter's excavation and the lake itself, all were placed for one definite effect.

Such a layout is an expression that straddles both the formal beauty (geometric pattern) and the informal beauty (organic pattern). The entire plan was drawn so competently that it is capable of confirming the fact that the organic concept has long been with the Chinese planner.

4) *Form follows function and function follows organic:* When I attended the UN Seminar on Regional Planning in Tokyo in 1958, I submitted a paper entitled "Creation of Balanced Community and Regional Planning (catalogued as Working Paper No. 39). In that paper there is a chapter that deals with the theory that 'form follows function, and function follows organic.' It stresses that, as space and time change, there will be new biological needs for the city, and to meet them it is important that attention is paid to the theory 'function follows the organic quality' in supplementation of Sullivan's famous observation: 'form follows function.' As we must all realize, the ideal to which urban architecture must aspire is that of renew-ability, generation by generation, keeping step with the cycle of life

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and perpetually adapting itself to new biological needs. If we concern ourselves only with function but ignore the necessity of the organic quality, it is doubtful that what we created is a society suitable to man.

As to flexibility in Chinese city and housing planning first, construction used to progress and develop section by section, structure by structure, even neighborhood by neighborhood, and all the finished units automatically contribute to order and to social convenience and security; secondly, the city wall and house wall were intended to be permanent or semi-permanent, though the house itself was short-lived; thirdly, the planned urban area usually exceeded the actual requirement of planned population.

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The Theory of the State in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Political Philosophy

By *Shia-ling Liu* (劉退齡)

I. THE INTERNAL BASIS OF DR. SUN'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND HIS POLITICAL IDEALS

The formation of any political ideal or philosophy, as a rule, must, more or less, be based upon the observations of the thinkers toward the external and internal causes which have a bearing on the shaping of social science. That the existing circumstances or environment may be very influential in forming one's ideals, economical, political, social or ethical, has never been doubted; on the other hand, no one can deny that the observations of a particular thinker on human nature may also have a decisive influence in shaping his theory. It is said that the permanent basis of social science is human nature, consequently, if we want to study political science, we must start to study human nature so that a more actual, practical conclusion may be reached.¹ As a matter of history, the ideals, especially the political ideals, of Confucius and Mencius in the Orient, as well as those of Plato and Aristotle in Greece, differed one from the other owing to the differences between their observations upon human nature. And it was the difference in their respective observations on human nature that led Thomas Hobbes and John Locke to reach diverse conclusions in the field of political theory. The issue between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton was the same. "Jefferson's party believed", observed Dr. Sun, "that the people were endowed with natural rights, and that if the people were given complete democratic power, they would be discriminating in the use of their freedom, would direct their power to the accomplishment of great tasks, and would make all the affairs of the nation progress to the fullest extent. Jefferson's theory assumed that human nature is naturally good, and that if the people under complete democratic rule do not always express their natural virtue but abuse their power and do evil, it is because they have met some obstacle and are for the time being forced to act that way.....The policy proposed by Hamilton's party was directly opposed to Jefferson's idea. Hamilton did not think that human nature was always perfect; and he felt that, if democratic power were given equally to all men, bad men would direct their political

1. Bryce, James: *Modern Democracies*, p. 10.

power to bad ends. And if corrupt individuals should get much of the power of the state into their hands, they would use the rights and privileges of the state for selfish benefit and profit of their own party; they would not care a rap for any morality, law, justice, or order in the nation, and the final result would be either a 'state with three rulers'—divided authority and want of unity—or mob rule, that is, liberty and equality pushed to excess and anarchy. Such an application of democracy would not advance the nation but would only throw it into disorder and make it lose ground. So Hamilton proposed that the political power of the state should not be given entirely to the people, but should be centralized in the government, in a central authority; the common people should have only a limited degree of democracy. If the people should have unlimited power in their hands and use it for evil, the effect upon the nation would be far more serious than the evil deeds of one king. A wicked king still has many people to oversee and restrain him. Therefore Hamilton declared that as autocracy had to be restricted, so democracy must also be limited, and he founded the Federalist Party which advocated the centralization and not the diffusion of sovereign Power."² From the afore-mentioned discussion, therefore, it is not improper to say that the political ideal of a certain political thinker is largely, if not wholly, based upon his theory of human nature. However, it by no means belittles the importance of the external environment which may also be more or less effective in moulding one's political theory. The bearing which the existing situation of the world in general, as well as the circumstances within the country in particular, had in modeling Dr. Sun's political philosophy might be easily seen elsewhere in all his works, especially in his sixteen comprehensive lectures on *San Min Chu I*, (the Three Principles of the People). Herein I shall deal exclusively with his observation on human nature, the internal basis of his political theory.

1. *His observation of human nature*

In Dr. Sun's observation of human nature there are three significant points: firstly, he holds that human nature is evolutionary; secondly, he is of the opinion that the natural intelligence and ability of human beings are unequal; thirdly, the evolution of human nature takes place, not solely through a process of steady development but also, at times, through accelerated, abrupt, apparently disruptive transformations as caused by artificial forces.

The traditional theory of human nature insists that human nature is unchangeable, permanent, it may be either naturally good or bad, or a mix-

2. Sun Yat-sen: *San Min Chu I*, Translation by Frank W. Price, pp. 249-51.

ture of good and evil, but it can never be good in the past and bad in the future or vice versa. For Dr. Sun, human nature is evolutionary, the present stage of human nature is the resultant of the evolution through a long period of time.

And the modern colorfully advanced civilization is the result of a long process of human evolution. Furthermore, as human nature evolves from a lower to the highest stage successively, the human civilization of tomorrow will reach a higher stage than that of today, consequently, the perfected ideal state which the greatest political philosophers dreamt of will not be unattainable in the future.

The evolution of human nature, according to Dr. Sun, might be divided into two periods: namely, the period of animal evolution and the period of human evolution.

a. Human nature in the period of animal evolution

During this period of time, man being one of the animals, was not at all different from any other of the animal species. Animality is the dominant nature of mankind as well as of animals. And the natural selection which Charles Darwin discovered as the process of the evolution of animals and plants might be the same process of evolution through which mankind preserved its existence by means of a struggle between men themselves, for the main purpose of self-preservation. The problem of what shall be injurious to the interests of others was a question outside the comprehension of primitive folk. As a matter of course, there is neither right nor wrong, neither justice nor injustice, since the rule of life is: man is entitled to whatever he can get; and for as long as he can keep it, which Hobbes described as the attribute of the savages in the state of nature.³ Consequently there was no trend to form a political society, and the ideal of political authority was probably beyond the reach of their thinking.

b. Human nature in the period of human evolution

Thomas Hobbes is right, according to Dr. Sun, when he asserts that human nature was egoistic in the state of nature when men lived without a common power to dominate others through fear.⁴ However, he is wrong in insisting that human nature remains the same through all the ages and that it will

3 & 4, Thomas Hobbes: *Leviathan* ch. 11.

be no more and no less self-interested in the time to come. "The period from the formation of cells to the development of man," said he, "constitutes the second stage of evolution.⁵ During this period the species of life developed into significant and complicated beings from a minute and insignificant origin, mankind emerged victorious after weathering bitter struggles for existence for many thousands of years, in the course of which the fittest were left to survive and the unfit eliminated in accordance with the law of natural selection. The early ancestors of mankind were not unlike the wild animals. The human character was developed many thousand years after. Then human evolution began. The law governing human evolution is different from that of the evolution of other species. In the evolution of plant and animal lives, struggle for existence is the guiding principle; whereas in the evolution of mankind, mutual aid is the rule. The community and the state are organized forms of co-operation, while the ethical code represents this principle in application. Men who conform to this law prosper, while those who do not, are bound to perish. This law has been operating in the scheme of human affairs for many thousands of years. But not all men of our day observe it because man's advance from the second stage of evolution, the evolution of species, to the third stage is comparatively recent. The inherent traits of the animal ancestors have not been entirely eliminated."⁶ Therefore when mankind approaches the third stage of evolution, human nature is mixed up with animality and humanity. This period may be called the period of dualistic human nature. However, as time goes on, mankind reaches a period when the human being gets rid of animality from human nature, and only then will humanity be left; and the period of monistic human nature sounds its arrival. The purification of the monistic human nature, furthermore, reaches its highest stage—in divine nature. The period of deity is the last goal and extremity in the evolution of human nature.

On the other hand, the innate intelligence and ability of mankind are naturally unequal. Equality as well as freedom and fraternity, ever since our political history began, have been an illusion of human beings, but they still remain the objective of the revolution which man wages. In other words, men may have equal standing, politically, economically, and socially, but in no sense are men equal, intellectually, psychologically, nor biologically. According to Dr. Sun, as "in the world of Nature we do not find any two things level", so human beings are not naturally equal.⁷ Therefore, mankind may be divided into three groups according to man's natural intel-

5. The first stage of evolution, in Dr. Sun's theory, is the material evolution.

6. Wei Yung, *The Cult of Dr. Sun*, ch. IV. pp. 90-92.

7. Price, cited, p. 296.

lectual endowments and capacities. "Upon what did I base my division of human society?" asked Dr. Sun, "Upon the individual's natural intelligence and ability. I classified mankind into three groups. The first group are those who see and perceive first: they are the people of superior wisdom who take one look at a thing and see numerous principles involved, who hear one word and immediately perform great deeds, whose insight into the future and whose many achievements make the world advance and give mankind its civilization. These men of vision and foresight are the creators, the discoverers of mankind. The second group includes those who see and perceive later: their intelligence and ability are below the standard of the first group; they cannot create or discover, but can only follow and imitate, learning from what the first group has already done. The third group are those who do not see or perceive: they have a still lower grade of intelligence and ability, and do not understand even though one tries to teach them; they simply act."⁸

Notwithstanding the difference in intelligence and ability of the human beings and the co-existence of humanity and animality in human nature during a certain period of time, the nature of mankind may be bettered and modified in a larger degree by artificial forces. Human nature is the most modifiable thing that we know. Ordinary human behavior is an indefinite compound and hence is subject to change by changing the elements of the compound. Dr. Sun's theory of human evolution is of a twofold character: unconscious and conscious—the former being characteristic of the lower stages of human evolution and the latter, an ever increasing characteristic of the higher stages. And in general, he believes that the accelerated, abrupt and rapid transformation of human nature will take place largely by means of the conscious change. The belief that "through science, man will be enabled more and more to master nature and to control his behavior," as Professor Charles A. Ellwood stated in his book, *The Psychology of Human Society*⁹ might probably be the same idea which Dr. Sun had in mind when he regarded education as one of the most important functions of the state towards its people.

2. *His political ideal as based upon his observation of human nature*

The political ideals of Dr. Sun, in a word, are based upon his observations of human nature. As human nature is evolutionary, changeable, not permanent, therefore, political authority, whatever it may be, is relative, not absolute. The application of political authority must be in harmony

8. Ibid. P. 297.

9. Bogardus, E. S.: *A History of Social Thought*, p. 551.

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with the degree of human evolution in a certain period of time. No matter what the nature and degree of political authority may be, it must be reasonable if it is to be suitable to the prevailing state of human nature. Instability and revolutions in human society arise when the former is not appropriate to the latter. However, according to him, political authority or sovereignty is the characteristic of the evolution of human nature, and it is the means by which mankind survives after its struggle for self-preservation. "As we view life about us or study into the distant past," he related "We see that human power has been employed, to put it simply, in maintaining the existence of the human race. In order to exist, mankind must have protection and sustenance and it is daily engaged in meeting these two great needs. Protection means self-defense: whether it is an individual or a group or a state, the power of self-defense is necessary to existence. Sustenance means seeking food. Self-defense and food-seeking are, then, the two chief means by which mankind maintains its existence.... and so the protection and the sustenance of man comes into conflict with the protection and sustenance of other animals, and struggle ensues. To keep alive in the midst of struggle, man fights, and so mankind has not ceased to fight since the beginning of human life. Thus the human race has used power in combat, and since its birth upon this planet until now has lived in the thick of strife."¹⁰ By political power, according to him, is meant the political sovereignty of the state in the latter stage of the evolution of human beings. Therefore, the state, on the one hand, may restrict the stimulus of the animality urge, and on the other hand, may accelerate the development of the nature of men through the functions of government; hence, the state is absolutely necessary in the struggle of man to survive.

On the basis of the evolution of human nature, Dr. Sun divided into five periods the evolution of political authority (the State): the first was the period of primeval and universal wilderness before the dawn of human history; secondly, the period of theocracy; thirdly, the period of autocracy; fourthly, the period of democracy and fifthly, the period of 'Ta-tung society' or the "Great commonwealth".

The period of primeval and universal wilderness, before the dawn of human history, was the age when men fought with beasts. During that time "men sought to live and animals sought to live. Man had two ways of preserving his existence through seeking food and through self-defense. In very ancient times man ate beasts and beasts also ate men; there was a constant struggle between them. The land was covered with venomous snakes

10. Price, cited, p. 153.

and wild animals; man was beset by dangers and so had to fight for his very life. The warfare of that day was the irregular conflict between man and beast; there was no banding into groups, it was 'each fighting for himself'. "At that time," he continued, "there was no such thing as popular sovereignty; man, in fighting the animals, used simply his own physical prowess and not any kind of authority. It was an age of brute force."¹¹ As a matter of fact, during that period of time, man was just a little bit different from the animals, either in his nature or way of life. Human beings may have recognized one another by the consciousness of their kind; however, they were not grouped together by convention with a definite purpose in view. And the idea of political authority was something foreign to the comprehension of the primitive mind. As time went on, the wisdom and reason of mankind advanced. With the dawn of the second period, man was quite different from and over above the animals. However, owing to the inevitability of natural catastrophes the sense of dependence upon the divine being and upon the mysterious forces of nature was extremely vivid during the early youth of humanity. Man believed in gods and demons as the true heads of society. Eventually in the period of theocracy, people used to say that the two great functions of the state were worship and war, praying and fighting."¹²

Due to the further advance of human nature, and scientific invention, awe-inspiring natural phenomena came to be accounted for and explained; thus the divine theory gradually lost its authority or was only used as an excuse by despotic kings for claims of absolute power. The transition from theocracy to autocracy prevailed in Europe as well as in Asia and Africa. The distinctive mark of autocracy is the concentration of all rights in the emperor, so that no one has any right apart from, or in opposition to, him. He may recognise the restrictions of religious or moral duty, or of his responsibility to God, but his power is not limited by the rights of his subjects, who are mere slaves and dependent upon his arbitrary grace and favor. It has been accepted as a general rule that the most perfect organization of a state is the one which can combine the unity and energy of the whole with the freest development of the members, but this is true only in a civilized political society when human nature has evolved with many more elements of humanity than animality. It is impossible at a time when the animality of human nature still prevails. However, in the later stage of the evolution of human nature, the human intellect made many attempts in different periods and among different nations to find the exact measure of the limitations that should be imposed upon autocracy. But it was not until the last few centuries when autocracy had reached its peak and the burdens upon the people had exceeded

11. *Ibid.* p. 163.

12. *Ibid.* pp. 156-8.

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what they could endure, that any attempts had much success. Therefore the democratic revolution of the last centuries was, on the one hand, a reaction against extreme autocracy, and, on the other hand, a movement derived from the self-consciousness of the people due to the evolution of human nature.¹³ Certainly, both theocracy and autocracy had their role and merits in their time. "Autocracy is justifiable only when the people are very primitive in mind and in need of the leadership of sage rulers in securing an ordinary living, a peaceful society, and a little spiritual expression. At present popular intelligence is far advanced, and civilization has laid a sound foundation. Just as a grown-up boy should no longer depend upon the care of his parents, a well educated people can find no use for the system of autocracy."¹⁴ And as human nature evolves to its final stage, the ideal state of 'Great Commonwealth' will be attained. As the divinity of human nature prevails, the people shall enjoy a lot of freedom with less interference from the political authority. But in the present period of democracy, while animality still influences human nature more or less, state intervention in a proper degree for the welfare of the people as a whole is still desirable and valuable.

In a word, Dr. Sun was of the opinion that the political institution of human society varied from time to time according to the evolution of human nature. Therefore, the practical value of political science and the greatness of statecraft, as James Bryce observed in his noted work, "consist in tracing and determining the relation of those tendencies to the institutions which men have created for guiding their life in a community."¹⁵

II. A NEW CONCEPTION OF THE STATE

1. The state for the people

Is the state itself an end? In other words, is the state for the people or the people for the state? It is one of the most important problems in dealing with the theory of the state. Ever since Plato, people have tried to justify the state itself as an end, that the people must live in the state through which the good life of the people can only be attained, unfortunately, this theory has been misused by the followers of Fascism. "Every thing for the state; nothing against the state; nothing outside the state"¹⁶ has long been their motto and it is the extreme example for the theory. To prevent this

13. *Ibid.* pp. 164-165.

14. *Hsu*, cited, p. 289.

15. *Bryce*, cited, vol. 1, p. 10.

16. *Sabine*, G.H.: *A History of Political Theory*, p. 764.

evil, Dr. Sun projected that the state is for the people, not the people for the state. "The duty of the state", said he, "is to establish a sound government to realize the welfare and well-being of the people".¹⁷ "The function of the state is nothing else but to set up the government for the realization of the welfare of the people."¹⁸

In studying the history of evolution of the state, Dr. Sun realized that the greatest duty of either the ancient state or the modern state is to protect the people from external invasion and to supply the people with all their necessities. When a certain government of a certain state is not capable or good enough to carry on these functions, or it cannot discharge these duties, a new government might have to be established through revolution or a reform movement, which is capable of carrying out the basic functions of the state: namely, the protection and sustenance of the people. Unlike race or nationality, the state is developed not through natural but artificial forces in the sense that the state is set up owing to the needs of the people. It is created by the people and for the people's welfare.

As a logical derivation of the theory that the state is a means for the realization of the people's welfare, Dr. Sun emphasizes the importance of individual free will and personality, although he is by no means an individualist. His *Principle of Democracy* is based upon this very viewpoint. However, he in no sense belittles the freedom of the state. On the contrary, he asserted that the freedom of the state or race is a prerequisite for individual freedom. Under the suppression of a foreign country, the people of a dependent state are not free in any sense. The relation of the freedom of the state to the freedom of the people will be dealt with in detail in Chapter IV.

Not only did he stress the liberty of the people, but he also emphasized the responsibility or duty of the state for the realization of the people's welfare. "We must establish our ideal state on the principle of the people's livelihood. Our end is not only to serve the common people for their sustenance, but also to grant chances to them to be well-educated. The state must manage some factories in order that the unemployed adult men and women can be employed. All the people must work except the aged who can not work and must be granted some pension. The greatest function of the state is to establish a government charged with this duty for the realization and promotion of the welfare of the common people."¹⁹ The idea that

17 & 18. Sun Yat-sen: *The People to Save the Country by Their Virtues*, Lectures.

19. Sun Yat-sen, *Women Must Understand the Three Principles of the People*, Lectures.

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a state is an instrument or the means for realization of certain purposes; namely, the welfare of the people, is something like the theory of the western instrumentalism upon which Dr. Sun's principle of democracy and the theory of state are based.

As a matter of fact, in all regions today allegiance to the political organization of the community is normally all-inclusive and compulsive. Each individual, whether he likes it or not, is a member of some state. And the state, Dr. Sun argued, is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the people. All modern civilizations and improvements of human society are the achievements of the state. The state, on the one hand, prevents its subjects from committing crimes; on the other hand, it is designed to do its utmost to promote the progressive transformation of a primitive society to that of the modern civilized society. "The civilization of the human being might advance gradually through the disorganized society. However, it could proceed very speedily under the supervision and guidance of the government."²⁰

Moreover, as Aristotle, our great teacher, told us the human being is by nature a social animal, in other words, men are born sociable. However, the human social life must be under the supervision and guidance of a certain political authority in one way or another. The supreme political authority is to be known as the state which is under the command of either the philosopher-king in Plato's system, or, the Son of Heaven in Confucius' plan. Especially during the modern stage of a civilized society, there must be some supreme political authority within a certain territory to settle disputes between individuals or between individuals and public agencies. Even the state-skeptics, such as the guild socialists in their setups of the ideal guild society, retain the idea of a sovereign state, which may be called "commune" or the "Democratic Supreme Court of Functional Equity."²¹ Professor Harold J. Laski, the noted British pluralist, in his most comprehensive work—*Grammar of Politics*, sanctioned "the ultimate reserve power of state"; he recognized the distinction between the state and all other associations due to the fact it is "an association in which membership is compulsory"; he defined the state as "the association to protect the interests of men as citizens."²² In fact, man may by his conduct forfeit some of the privileges of citizenship; but his citizenship remains. He may manifest very little interest in the business of his state; but he remains, none the less, on the one hand a beneficiary of its services and on the other hand subject to definite formal modifications of conduct and social relationships as a con-

20. *Ibid.*, Lectures.

21. Coker, F.W.; *Recent Political Thought*, pp. 277-283.

22. Laski, H.J., *Grammar of Politics*, pp. 62, 69.

sequence of the power which the state exercises. The state is 'sui generis' in these respects. No other social organization is so universal and so comprehensive in its membership.

Therefore, the state is not only a necessity but the most important instrument to be used by the people in maintaining the existence of human life and promoting human civilization. The people, as separate individuals, live their lives within the boundaries of the state and under its control. The wellbeing and property of the people depend upon the state which is the composition of the people within a certain area. "The state", said Dr. Sun, "is the place where people live and die."²³ Thus the relation of the people to the state is organic. The independence and prosperity of the state are the prerequisite to the liberty and prosperity of the citizen. In order to improve the people's livelihood, say the standard of living of the people, we must first of all unite the nation to build up a sound basis of the state. The individual ends of the people are to be achieved not by the individuals themselves working separately in their own way, but through the various associations composed of certain groups of the people. The state is the most important one as it is instituted by the whole people within a certain territory. As a result of the development of nationalism through the recent centuries, the state is even more important than it has ever been before. It is not only a political but also an economic unit. The standard of the people's livelihood is in proportion to the position of the state among the family of nations. Therefore, Dr. Sun justified the duty of the nationals of the state to fight and sacrifice for national salvation. "Every one must recognize that the state is an artificial association organized by the people and myself. To sacrifice one's self-interests for the welfare of the state is the duty of every citizen of the state and by doing so the conditions of the state and society shall be promoted gradually and continuously."²⁴

The foundation of this idea is based upon the relationship of the 'largest self' to the 'individual self'. According to Dr. Sun, the state as 'an artificial association organized by the people and myself' is the 'largest self', and the individuals, as the members of the state, must be subject to the 'largest self' as parts in the body. Although the state is only a means organized for the purpose of serving the people, the relationship of the one to the other is organic in so far as the state is responsible for the temporal wellbeing of the people. Furthermore, in the modern stage of human history, the state is the only medium through which the people can maintain their sust-

23. Sun Yat-sen: *Collective Writings*, Vol. IV.

24. Sun Yat-sen: *Local-rule*, Lectures.

enance among the family of nations. However, as the civilization of the human being advances, there will be a day when the importance of the state will more or less melt away and the people will live with less interference from political authority.

2. *The state of the people*

Whether the state represents the interest of the whole people or only of a certain group in society is one of the focal points in dealing with the nature of the state. The idea of representation in the states has, even since the idea of the state itself, been more or less realized by some of the great political thinkers in the various age of our political history. However, from the observations of our recorded history, no one can deny the fact, as Marx tells us, that the state has been used as the tool of class-domination by one over the other politically and economically through all the ages. The deified king in the theocratic period of human history, emperor in the period of autocracy, the capitalists in a modern country, the proletariat in the soviet state, have made use of the state as their tool to dominate the rest of society. "It is a rule," remarked Engeles, "that the state of the most powerful economic class, by force of its economic supremacy, becomes, also, the ruling political class and thus acquires new means of subduing and exploiting the oppressed masses. The antique state was, therefore, the state of the slave-owners for the purpose of holding the slaves in check. The feudal state was the organ of the nobility for the oppression of the serfs and dependent farmers. The modern representative state is the tool of the capitalist exploiters of wage labor."²⁵ As it might be expected, Dr. Sun never denied the existence of such facts. However, he asserted, this is an abnormal phenomenon of society, not the normal channel of human evolution. To him, the "class war is not the cause of social progress; it is a disease developed in the course of social progress. The cause of the disease is the inability to subsist, and the result of the disease is war. What Marx gained through his studies of social problems was a knowledge of disease in the course of social progress. Therefore, Marx can only be called a social pathologist; we cannot say that he is a social physiologist."²⁶ Consequently, the state must never be the means of class-domination by one over the other but it must be the representation of the people as a whole. "What we want is to organize a government by the whole people, which is to exist in behalf of the interest of the whole people."²⁷ "Therefore, as a matter of course, he rejected any kind of govern-

25. Eneles, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, p. 127. cited in Sherman H. M. Chang's *The Marxian Theory of the State*, p. 52.

26. Price, cited.

27. Sun Yat-sen: *Girls must understand San Min Chu I*, Lectures.

ment which is dominated by any individual or a group of individuals. He opposed tyranny, the proletarian dictatorship, and the capitalist government of the modern states on the ground that such governments are only for the interests of certain individuals or a group of individuals, and are contrary to those of the people as a whole. "It has been found that the so-called representative governments often have not been truly representative of the people, and that they have been tools used by capitalists to exploit the common people. According to the Kuomintang's Principle of Democracy, the people's rights should be enjoyed by all the people, not by a few privileged individuals only."²⁸

The argument for the state as the representative of the whole people is threefold. Firstly, the struggle for existence is one of the laws of social progress and is the central force in history; secondly, for the purpose of maintaining their subsistence, the people must be capable of mutual assistance, as otherwise, as a matter of consequence, the mutual struggle or class war shall lead men to perish, not to survive; thirdly, the co-existence and mutual-assistance of the people can only be obtained on the condition that all men must possess an equal standing in preserving their life, notwithstanding the fact that they are not naturally equal in their natural endowments and capacities. The state as the means for the subsistence of the people must, therefore, be the representative of the whole people and work for the welfare of the community as a body.

Dr. Sun emphatically rejected the Maxist theory of economic determinism by arguing that it is not material force, but the pursuit for the preservation of the human being that determines the course of human history. "Have material forces really been the center of gravity in history?" asked he, "After a few years of experiment with it following the European War, many people are saying that the principle is wrong. What, then, is the center in history?.... Recently an American disciple of Marx, named (Maurice) Williams, after making a deep study of Marx's philosophy came to the conclusion that the disagreement between fellow socialists is due to defects in Marxian doctrines. He sets forth the view that the materialistic conception of history is wrong: that the social problem, not material forces, is the center which determines the course of history, and that subsistence is the center of gravity of the social problem. The social interpretation of history, he believes, is the only reasonable one. The problem of livelihood is the problem of subsistence. The new theory of this American scholar tallies exactly with the third principle of our party. Williams's theory means that liveli-

28. The Manifesto of the First National Convention of Chungkuo Kuomintang, Hsu, L.S.: *Sun Yat-sen, His Political and social Ideas*, p. 129.

hood is the central force in social progress, and that social progress is the central force in history; hence the struggle for a living, and, not material forces, determines history. We have held the principle of Livelihood for twenty years; when we first studied and pondered upon this question we felt that the term Min-sheng defined the field of social problems better than the terms 'socialism' or 'communism', so we chose to use it. We little foresaw at that time how the clarifying of principles and the development of knowledge following a European war would lead students of the Marxian school to discover the same point. This shows that our 'Min-sheng' Principle is consistent with the law of progress and is not a mere parroting of what contemporary scholars are saying."²⁹ A close examination of the recent fact in the development of society will convince us that the struggle for subsistence is not a struggle between man and man or between groups and groups as the Marxists insisted. Existence for all is the highest desire of the human consciousness of subsistence. The reason why the human being could be able to enjoy the benefits of the collective life successively is because of the existence of a political society, and political society originated from the consciousness of human solidarity. The human being is by nature sociable and has a consciousness of human solidarity. This springs from the identity of human nature, and afterwards, develops into a society owing to the necessity of mutual preservation. "In the primitive struggle between man and wild beasts", observed Dr. Sun, "man used only his individual physical strength, or, sometimes, the group would fight together; if, for instance, in one place a few score of men were battling with a few score of beasts, and in another place, another group of men were doing the same thing, the men of both places might, perceiving their own kinship to each other and their difference from the animals, unite as fellow creatures, and fight together against the other animals. Certainly man would not join with brutes to fight and devour man and injure his own kind. Such a banding together of the species and unwitting alliance against reptiles and beasts was a natural, not an artificial, when the reptiles or beasts were destroyed the men scattered."³⁰ This human consciousness of kind in the beginning, as in the Totem society, for example, was only within a limited territory and among a few groups which associated with each other. Some year later as the social contacts increased, the consciousness of human solidarity broadened to an entire area and, then, to the whole race, and it is not impossible to expect that someday it shall broaden so as to embrace the entire human race so that we can call each other brothers as Confucius dreamt of thousands of years ago. Consequently, social Darwinism is wrong as far as its theory relative to social evolution is con-

29. *San Min Chu I*, p. 332-3. see also Franklin, W. M. *Sun Yat-senism in Theory and Practice*, pp. 41-44.

30. Price, cited. P. 158.

cerned. To Dr. Sun, the relationship of human subsistence is two-fold, one of which is man toward nature, the other is of man toward one another. The Law governing the relationship of man toward one another is quite different from that dominating the relationship of man toward nature and the processes of natural and artificial progress should be consequently different from one another. "The distinction," as Lester F. Ward, the noted sociologist, realized, "is now clear between natural and artificial progress. The former is blind growth; the latter, a purposeful manufacture. One is a genetic process; the other, a teleological process. One is characterized by increasing differentiation; the other, by a process of calculation. Artificial progress is considered superior to natural progress."³¹ As a matter of course, mankind being the master of nature may use any means which he may think of to conquer and control nature and to make use of nature for the betterment of the human race. And it is for this very reason that man must have his own way of progress different from that of animals and the material universe. And ever since Plato in the West, as well as Confucius in the Orient, human society has been conceived as a system of services in which every member both gives and receives. What the State takes cognizance of is this mutual exchange, and what it tries to arrange is the most adequate satisfaction of needs and the most harmonious interchange of services. Social Darwinism is wrong because of its misapplication of the theory of natural selection to the process of human evolution, which is the governing principle of the plants and animals other than the human species. "The law governing human evolution is different from that of the evolution of species. In the evolution of plant and animal lives the struggle for existence is the guiding principle, whereas in the evolution of mankind natural aid is the rule."³² One the other hand, Marxism is also wrong. Marx himself is only a social pathologist, not a social physiologist, because his assumption that class struggle is the cause of social progress puts the effect before the cause. On the contrary, observed Dr. Sun, "Since man entered the stage of civilization he has been instinctively following the principle of cooperation to attain the end of evolution.....What is the end of human evolution? It is as Confucius said, 'When the great principle (of truth) prevails, the whole world rests on a common trusteeship' as well as what Jesus said, 'Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.' Mankind has been praying for the conversion of a sorrowful world into a paradise. Civilization in recent years is progressing at an ever-increasing speed. The achievements in the past century far exceeded those in the past 1,000 years, so did the achievements in the past ten years exceed those in the past 100 years. If the progress con-

31. Bogardus, E. S., Cited, P. 281.

32. Wei Yung, cited, p. 91.

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tinues at this rate, the millennium is not far off."³³ As a matter of fact, Dr. Sun reasserted that "society progresses through the adjustment of major economic interests rather than through the clash of interests. If most of the economic interests of society be harmonized, the majority of people will benefit and society will progress. The reason why we want to make these adjustments is simply because of the living problem. From ancient times until now man has exerted his energies in order to maintain his existence. And mankind's struggle for continuous existence has been the reason for society's unceasing development, the law of social progress."³⁴

Furthermore, the process of human struggle for preservation through mutual cooperation is based upon the foundation of equal rights for existence in spite of the fact that natural endowment of intelligence and ability of one may differ from those of another. The causes of instability and revolution that have ever happened in our human history have mostly been through man made inequalities. The inequality created by kings and princes was artificial inequality.....Because of these artificial ranks, the specially privileged classes became excessively cruel and iniquitous, while the oppressed people, rebelled and warred upon inequality. The original aim in the revolution had been the destruction of man-made inequalities."³⁵ And as each man has different gifts of intelligence and ability. "Hereafter we should harmonize the three types³⁶ which I have described and give them all equal standing. Every one should make service, not exploitation, his aim. Those with greater intelligence and ability should serve thousands and ten of thousands to the limit of their power and make thousands and ten of thousands happy. Those with less intelligence and ability should serve tens and hundreds to the limit of their power and make tens and hundreds happy. The saying: 'The skillful are the slaves of the stupid' is just this principle. Those who have neither intelligence nor ability should each, nevertheless, serve one another to the limit of their individual power and make one another happy. In this way, although men may vary in natural intelligence and ability, yet, as moral ideals and the spirit of service prevail, they will certainly become more and more equal. This is the essence of equality."³⁷

33. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

34. Price, p. 391.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

36. Dr. Sun divided the people of the world into three groups according to their natural endowments. Each of them has equal standing, and right to existence. And if these three groups could use each other and heartily cooperate, human civilization would advance a thousand miles a day'. see pp. 6-7.

37. Price, cited p. 245.

Therefore, the state, which as the most important instrument to be used for the people in maintaining the existence of the human being and in promoting human civilization, (as we have seen in the preceding chapter,) must be answerable to those three principles mentioned above. Consequently, the state must necessarily be the representative of the whole people under the dominion of a certain political authority, within a certain territory, otherwise, the stability of the political community, which Aristotle and Polybius tried to maintain by means of a mixed government, and which Locke and Montesquieu intended to preserve by a separation of powers, could never be lasting, and there would be revolution after revolution, war after war. The fictitious state of nature which Thomas Hobbes described as "a war of every man against every man" during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe³⁸ will be exactly the condition of those countries where the state is set up as the tool of domination by one class over the other. More than once, Dr. Sun asserted that "the state is instituted by the whole people, and that every body is responsible for the soundness of the organization of the state", and that "the state is something like a corporation, the relationship of the people to the state as that of the stockholder to the corporation." And he urged his fellow countrymen to be the master of themselves as the citizens of the Republic of China and to organize an ideal government of the people, by the people and for the people.³⁹

3. *The position of the state within and without*

The position of the state within

In the *Principle of Democracy*, Dr. Sun emphasized the importance and necessity of a powerful government so that the government could do more for the welfare of the whole people. In the *Principle of Livelihood*, he stressed the benefit and desirability of nationalization of large-scale enterprises. To him, the state has been helpful to the advancement of human civilization and social progress through all the periods of human history. As a logical derivation of the premises that the state is the means of the people created by the people for the preservation and protection of human beings, and that the state is the representative of the whole people, it is improper to deny the government, which is the agent of state, power to carry on the functions which are assigned by the people to be performed by the state. "Building a new state," said Dr. Sun, "is like building a new steamship. If we put in low-powered machinery, the speed of the vessel will naturally be

38. see Puppra p. 6.

39. Sun Yat-sen: *Virtue as a Means of National Salvation* cited.

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low, its freight capacity will be small, and profits from its running meager. But if we install high-powered machinery, the vessel will have a high rate of speed, will be able to carry heavy freight, and will bring in larger profits.....The same principle applies to the building of a state. If we construct a low-powered, weak government, its activities will be limited and its accomplishments will be meager. But if we put in a high-powered, strong government, its activities will be broad in scope and it will accomplish great things.⁴⁰

This is the basis of his arguments for a powerful government. However, to be powerful, first of all, the government itself must be free from restrictions in discharging its functions which are assigned to the government by the people for the realization of the welfare of the whole community. But on the other hand, it is easy enough to see that the more powerful the government is, the more dangerous it can be. Without any restriction or limitation upon the power of the government, the government might sometimes become totalitarian and tyrannical, or, at times, by fantastic leadership, the whole nation might be at stake in cases involving international peace and security. For a long time the principle of separation of powers has been used as the instrument of the people to control the government in Western European countries, and in the United States of America. However, the principle of checks and balances, according to Dr. Sun, is incompatible to his proposal of an all-powerful government. As a matter of fact, the problem at hand is far from having ever been solved since recorded history. Therefore, if we try to solve the difficulties of democracy, "we must look for a new way, and that new way depends.....upon a change of attitude towards government."⁴¹ Herein he introduced his popularly known principle of the separation of sovereignty and ability. In accordance with his theory, sovereignty belongs to the people and ability to the government. The people's sovereignty "means the control of the government by the people."⁴² The people may use the four controlling powers; namely, suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum to control the government; the government is controlled by the people instead of being checked by the branches of the government itself. On the other hand, the government is granted five administrative powers, that is, legislative, judicial, executive, civil service examination, and censorship by which it will have to discharge its duties. "With these nine powers in operation and preserving a balance, the problem of democracy will truly be solved and the government will have a definite course to follow."⁴³ Thus the state, in Dr. Sun's theory, is quite different from that in the Hegelian philosophy as

40. Price, cited, pp. 342-44.

41 & 42, *Ibid.*, p. 310.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 355.

well as in Fascism and Nazism, which is extravagantly glorified. "The latter regarded its authority as inevitably embodied in an autocratic and powerful government without any restriction or limitation from the people.

But it should be noted here, that under certain special circumstances such as exist in a country with a backward civilization, these people are inexperienced in taking part in political activities, it might be undesirable, or even dangerous, to trust the generally ignorant people to exercise so important a power as the controlling of government. It is not infeasible, therefore, to have a certain political party, which really represents the whole people, perform such powers temporarily on behalf of all the members of the political community. These powers will be delivered over to the whole people to be exercised by themselves directly after a definite period of time. Some arrangements had been made by Dr. Sun to attain this goal for the special circumstance of China. In his *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction*, he divided the Chinese reconstruction program into three periods: the first was the period of military destruction; the second was the period of political tutelage, during which the National Convention of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) was to exercise in behalf of the whole people the four powers of government. Meanwhile, "the government will educate the people and give them the necessary political training for the exercise of their rights of suffrage, initiative, referendum and recall."⁴⁴ In stepping into the third period of constitutional government, the People's Convention, elected directly by the people will take over the functions previously performed by the National Convention of the Kuomintang and be vested with the highest political power of the government. "It will have the right of electing and recalling officers of the Central Government; with respect to national legislation, the Conference possesses the right of initiative and referendum."⁴⁵

The position of the state without

As a patriotic nationalist, Dr. Sun stressed sovereignty as one of the most important essentials of the state. The Chinese Revolution is an inspiration to all Chinese patriots who are continuing the struggle for the independence and prosperity of that country. "For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the People's Revolution with but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations"⁴⁶. This is the first sentence of his will when he bade his farewell to his countrymen. However, his conception of nationalism is totally different from that of poli-

44. Hsu, L. S., cited, p. 85.

45. Ibid. P.

46. Price, cited.

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tical theories current to-day in Europe. The latter, encouraging differences in sentimental feelings, brings hatred; the former, nourishing the fellow-feeling in human nature, brings amity. What the West calls nationalism is the sanction of a narrow conception of patriotism. Its attitude towards aliens is merciless, so that people are beguiled into thinking of war as glorious, "extending," as Mencius says, "unloving deeds even to these whom they love."⁴⁷ Incidentally, Dr. Sun rejected vigorously the colonial expansion of imperialism and dissented, nay, accused, the aggressive actions of certain countries in the most emphatic terms. In dealing with other nations, he believed, the actions must be restricted and limited by international law, justice and righteousness. It is illegal and unlawful to interfere in the independence and freedom of other country on any grounds unsanctioned by international practices. On the other hand, the expansive and militant imperialists extended their sway with little or no special regard to rights and interests of the weak people submerged in the process of expansion. To stamp out imperialism, therefore, was one of the objectives of the people's Revolution under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

In most cases, the state, as Dr. Sun realized, is identified with the nationality which evolved by the natural forces, namely, blood kinship, common language; common livelihood, common religion and common habits. The status of sovereign states are equal before international law. One nation has no more right than the other in claiming that she is superior in some way or another. There is no excuse for one state to intervene in another's domestic affairs even with the consent of the latter.

The principles guiding the dealings with each other among the family of nations are as following:

a. The principle of people's self-determination.

Like President Woodrow Wilson, Dr. Sun devoted himself to the realization of the principle of a people's self determination. It was urged that a people associated by natural forces had the right to determine what kind of state and government they should have. They were to be independent from any external interference in the sense that they have the independent to act as they think fit and that in the discharge of their domestic affairs they are to be free from any coercion against their will. Any state, weak or strong, among the family of nations, in accordance with Dr. Sun's theory,

47. Mencius: *Mencze* to be found in *Four Books*. (Chinese Classics including the teachings of Mencius & Confucius).

must perform two functions in compliance with the said principle: negatively, to respect the right of self-determination of others; and positively to help others to stand on their own feet and to determine for themselves what their state and government should be.

These two functions especially are the duties, nay, obligations of the advanced and strong nations toward the weak and unadvanced states. And this is the principle which Confucius, the Great Teacher of China, urged as the law in dealings with affairs when involving more than one Duchy two thousand years ago when China Proper was divided into many small Duchies. The Principle of Nationalism in Dr. Sun's *Sun Min Chu I* is based upon the very ethical basis—the traditional Chinese ethical basis: “to rescue the weak, lift up the fallen.” If we want China to rise to power, we must not only restore our national standing, but we must also assume a great responsibility towards the world. If China can not assume that responsibility, she will be a great disadvantage to the world no matter how strong she may be. What really is our duty to the world. The road which the ‘great powers’ are travelling today means the destruction of other states; if China, when she becomes strong, wants to crush other countries, copy the imperialism of other powers and go their road, we will just be following in their tracks. Let us first of all decide on our policy. Only if we restore the weak and lift up the fallen will we be carrying out the divine obligation of our nation. We must aid the weaker and smaller peoples and oppose the great powers.⁴⁸ Thus the real spirit of the principle is largely to aid, to help others to be so, not only negatively to restrain interference in what others are doing. “If all the people of the country resolve upon this purpose, our nation will prosper; otherwise, there is no hope for us.”⁴⁹

b. The observance of international justice and righteousness

International justice and righteousness consists in observing and respecting, on the one hand, equal international treaties, and, on the other hand, not to use unlawful or fraudulent means in dealings with other nations. It should not only be observed by nations of equal physical strength, but also between the strong powers no less than the weak. There must be some sort of international sanction to protect the weak nations from invasion, oppression, exploitation by the Powers, although Dr. Sun had never worked out a definite plan to enforce international justice and righteousness. However, as an internationalist, he rejected the Japanese imperialist expansion in China and Korea during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the most emphatic lang-

48 & 49, *Sun Min Chu I*, p. 147.

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uage. In arguing with one of his Japanese friends on Japan's entry into the First World War, Dr. Sun Said: "Why is Japan willing to sacrifice her national rights to keep a treaty with England while with China she is faithless and breaks the Treaty of Shimonoseki? The independence of Korea was proposed and demanded by Japan herself and effected by threats of force; now Japan is fat from eating her own words, but what kind of faithfulness and justice do you call that?" According to his analysis, "Japan advocates keeping her treaty with England but not with China because England is strong and China is weak. Japan's entry into the European War is due to fear of compulsion not because of faithfulness or 'justice'.⁵⁰ And in addition to this reason, selfishness is another underlying motive for her direct participation in the War.

Therefore it is easy to see that Dr. Sun's nationalism is by no means a kind of imperialism or militarism. As a matter of fact, he is a faithful internationalist as well. However, his internationalism is based upon international justice and righteousness instead of upon imperialism and militarism. Furthermore, his nationalism is in a sense, a means by which internationalism is to be attained. And, in this sense, such internationalism will become a fact in the future when all nations will be equal and independent no matter what their respective power may be. Through international cooperation among the family of nations, the ideal state of a Great Commonwealth which Confucius dreamt of will gradually come into being upon the earth.

III. A PROGRESSIVE THEORY ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE STATE

1. *The distinction between the state and the nation*

Vulgar usage confuses the expressions 'state' and 'nation'; science must carefully distinguish them. But even scientific language is often confused by the fact that the same words are used in a different sense by different political thinkers. However, no matter how interchangeable may be the use of the terms, undoubtedly, there is a certain definite distinction between the concept of 'state' and the idea of 'nation'. In general, as Burgess realizes, the latter has ethnic significance, while the former has a legal and political nuance. To him, a nation is "a population of an ethnic unity inhabiting a territory of a geographic unity."⁵¹ By geographic unity he means a territory separated from other territories by mountains, oceans, rivers, impenetrable forests and jungles, or climatic extremes, which place great difficulties in the

50. *Sun Min Chu I*, p. 132.

51. Burgess, John W., *Political Science and Constitutional law*, vol. 1, P. 1.

way of external intercourse and communication. By ethnic unity, he means a population having the heritage of a common tradition and history, language, literature, customs, and speech. And sometimes race or descent contributes greatly to the development of national unity. Furthermore, in some instances, the political union of different races under the leadership of a dominant race may also result in national assimilation. Where the geographic and ethnic unities coincide, or very nearly coincide, the nation is almost sure to organize itself politically, and a state is henceforth formed.

Nations and states are the product of nature and of history. A nation comes into being by a slow psychological process, in which a mass of men gradually develop a type of life and society which differentiates them from others, and becomes the fixed inheritance of their race. "The forces which developed these races were," says Dr. Sun, "in general, natural forces, but when we try to analyse them we find they are very complex. The greatest force is common blood. . . . The second great force is livelihood. . . . A third great force in forming a race is language. . . . A fourth force is religion. . . . Another force is customs and habits. . . . therefore, we discover dissimilar peoples or stocks amalgamating and forming a homogenous race."⁵² Wherefore, it might not be very improper to say that a nation is "a population held together by certain ties. . . . in such a way as to feel itself a coherent unity, distinct from other populations, similarly held together by like ties of their own."⁵³ However, it is also true that a mere arbitrary combination or collection of men has never given rise to a nation. Even the voluntary agreement and social contract of a number of persons which might organize a political or social association could not create a nation. To form a nation, the experiences and fortunes of several generations must cooperate, and its permanence is never secured until a succession of families handing down its accumulated culture from generation to generation has made its characteristics hereditary. In simple terms, a nation has developed through natural forces which Dr. Sun relates as the 'wang-tao,' royal way or way of right.⁵⁴

On the other hand, the rise of a state implies merely a political process, the creation of a political community, and may therefore be brought about quickly by a new constitution where, as Burgess declares, geographic and ethnic unities coincide. It is the consciousness, more or less developed, of political connection and unity which lifts the state above the nation. In Dr. Sun's words, the origin of a state is derived from the fact that human beings are

52. Price, *San Min Chu I*, pp. 9-11.

53. Bryce, J., *South America*, pp. 424-5 see Dr. S. Gale Lowrie's *Nationalism*, *The International Journal of Ethics*, vol. XII, 46.

54. Price, cited, p. 7.

striving continuously for self-preservation, owing to their consciousness of solidarity. Notwithstanding that a state might come into being by way of a natural historic evolution nevertheless, the nation must pass through many preliminary stages in its development before it reaches the political. Unlike the nation which is molded simply through a natural process, the state is more or less an artificial corporate body, the nature and extent of which may be changed from time to time at the will of the people. The forms of government, from despotism, aristocracy to modern democracy, are only modifications of political groupings under the influence and necessity of various environments.

However, it is a rule almost universally acknowledged, that "divergent nationalities within a state are disintegrating forces which may result in political dissolutions."⁵⁵ Free institutions, to John Stuart Mill, are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities. But, on the other hand, "where the sentiment of nationality exists in any force, there is a *prima facie* case for uniting all the members of the nationality under the same government, and to have a government to themselves apart."⁵⁶ Consequently, notwithstanding what the distinction between the state and nation may be, time and again Dr. Sun urges the Chinese to restore the standing of the Chinese nation by forming a national-state, as he is of the opinion that it is in general a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities; and the development of nationalism, in particular, is essential to the continued existence of the Chinese nation.⁵⁷

2. *The origin of the state*

As far as the origin of the state is concerned, there are a good many different and contradictory theories about it down through the centuries of recorded history of human civilization. In antiquity, as well as during the middle ages, belief in the divine institution of the state was more extended and more intense than in the present day. However, even then this divine foundation of the state was understood in very different senses. According to the Jewish theocracy, the state was the immediate word of God, the direct revelation upon earth of the divine government. Consequently, He should maintain and govern it directly. According to another view, the state is only indirectly founded by God, and is only indirectly governed by God. This theory was shared by the Greeks and the Romans. Besides these theological

55. Lowrie, S. Gale, cited, pp. 44-45.

56. Representative Government, ch. XVI.

57. Price, cited, p. 76.

theories of the state, the contractual theory that the state is a free work of contract, of convention between its citizens, has enjoyed great and widespread popularity. By the social contract, the society of the human beings was created; by the political contract, the state made its appearance. The contractual theory obtained a fatal authority at the time of the French Revolution. However, neither the theory of theocracy nor that of the contract is logical or historical. Both theories are only a kind of fiction which is derived from the imagination of the people without any scientific basis. History does not afford a single instance in which a state has really been brought about by contract between individuals. As for Dr. Sun, the state originated from the mere necessity of the people's self-preservation. As human nature evolves from the stage of animality to the period of humanity, we find that human nature, besides its individual diversity has in it the tendencies of community and unity, which develop in peoples a national consciousness which seeks a corresponding outward form. Therefore, the inward impulse to society and the common necessity of self-preservation produce an external organization for a common life in the form of a manly self-government, that is, in the form of the state. However, the consciousness and will of the state for the protection and sustenance of the people is formed not in the leaders and chiefs of people; but in the people themselves; in them it becomes an active consciousness and an ordering and effective will of the state. And whoever has the ability to serve the purpose of the masses for their self-preservation, is gradually bound to be asked for leadership. "Before the day of despotic emperors," asserted Dr. Sun, "China had the splendid rulers Yao (堯) and Shun (舜); before their time there was no autocracy to speak of and men of ability who could work for the welfare of all and organize good government were appointed emperors. In the wild age of conflict between men and beasts, which we formerly described, there was no complete state organization; the people lived by clans and depended upon some skillful and strong man to provide for their protection. At that time people were afraid of the attack of venomous serpents and wild beasts, so they had to turn to an able man to assume the responsibility for protection. Responsibility for protection required ability to fight; the man who could overcome venomous serpents and savage beasts was considered the ablest, and, as men of that day had no weapons but their bare hands and empty fists with which to fight, the one with the strongest body was raised by the people to the position of chief. China, however, had examples of others besides fighters who were made kings. Suijen Shih (燧人氏) bored wood for fire and taught the people to cook with fire; thus the dangers of eating raw vegetables and meat were avoided and many fine flavors to satisfy the palate were discovered. So the people made Sui-jen Shih king. Boring wood for fire and teaching people to cook with fire were the work of a cook, so we may say that a cook became king. Shen Nung (神農) tasted

a hundred herbs and discovered many medicinal properties to heal diseases and to raise the dead to life—a wonderful and meritorious work—so they made him king.... And thus we may say that a physician became king. Hsien Yuan (軒轅) taught the people to make clothes, so it was the tailor who became king; Yu Chao Shih (有巢氏) taught the people how to build houses, and so the carpenter became king. So in Chinese history we find not only those who could fight becoming king; anyone with marked ability, who had made new discoveries or who had achieved great things for mankind, could become king and organize the government.⁵⁸ The reason why men of marked ability had become kings of ancient China is that they could either, on the one hand, protect the people from the invasion either of the venomous serpents and wild beasts or of the external groups; or, on the other hand they made new discoveries for the people so the people's livelihood could be promoted to a higher standard. In other words, they could answer the purpose of the people—protection and sustenance through which the civilization of the human being and the solidarity of the society advanced gradually. In ancient times, "mankind suffered many hardships until some wise men came along with schemes for the welfare of the people. Thus the Great Yu (大禹) reduced the waters to order and averted the calamity of flood for the people, and Yu Chao Shih taught the people how to build houses in trees and avert disasters from rain and storm. From this time on civilization slowly progressed and the people began to unite."⁵⁹

The state as such, as we have seen, is derived from the necessity for self preservation of the people, and men of marked ability, either physically or intellectually, had been made king by them. However, Dr. Sun did not elaborate on how the people made the king. What he stated is the fact that men of such ability had been king. And what he emphasized was that the state is a necessity for the people's preservation and whoever could do the best for the purpose of the people had been made the king of the society. In other words, the state originated from the consciousness of the necessity for their sustenance and protection, but the way of setting up the political authority, as seen by Dr. Sun, is quite different from the contractual theory. More than once Dr. Sun asserted that the state is not set up by the contract of the people once for all as Hobbes suggested, nor by the two contracts as Althusias and Pufendorf elaborated centuries ago,⁶⁰ it is only the product of the labors of human beings. It evolved over long period of time, at first unconsciously but afterwards consciously, for their self-preservation.

58. *Ibid.* pp. 306-308.

59. *Ibid.* p. 162.

60. G.H. for their theory of contract. See Sabine's *A History of Political Theory*. pp. 431, 468.

In accordance with his theory, the society which was associated by the consciousness of kind of human beings was prior to the political society—the state. Human history might be divided into three periods: first, the age of wilderness when men struggled with beasts; second, the period when men struggled with nature; the third period is the age of struggle between men themselves. The state originated and was formed in the second period—the Period of Theocracy. “In the age of warfare with the beasts men could use his own physical strength to fight, but mere fighting was of no value in the day of struggle against Nature. . . . And there arose the idea of divine power. Men of deep wisdom began to advocate the doctrine of gods and divine teachings and introduced prayers as a means of warding off evil and obtaining blessings. There was no way of telling at that time whether their praying was effective or not; however, since they were struggling against Heaven they had no other plan, when in extremity, but to appeal for the power of the gods. A man of profound insight would be chosen as leader, like the chiefs of savage tribes in Africa today, whose special duty was to offer prayers. In the same way Mongolians and Tibetans now make a Living Buddha their ruler and are under a religious government. So the ancients used to say that the two great functions of the state were worship and war, praying and fighting.”⁶¹

It was in this period of human history that the state came into being. It has during the theocratic period of history that the nomadic way of human life was transformed to the agricultural. Due to social and economical development the political organization proved to be concrete. Political leadership, though religious in nature, certain state agencies, a definite number of subjects living within a more or less defined territory, came into being. With these a political authority was established and the state make its appearance in human history. Prior to this Period, there were tribal societies or groups associated by the consciousness of kind for the struggle of subsistence against the beasts. However, the political authority was not so definitely settled, even though chieftains acted as leaders.

3. *The evolution of the state*

The evolution of the state, according to Dr. Sun could be divided into four periods. The first is the Period of Theocracy when the authority of the state was based on divine power; the second is the Period of Autocracy when the power of king was supreme in the state; the third is the Period of Democracy when the people are to have the final say in their government;

61. *Ibid.* pp. 161-163.

the final period is the period of 'Great Commonwealth'. Prior to the Period of Theocracy, as stated in the previous section, there was the primitive or tribal society where the state originated, but not formed.

i. The state in the Period of Theocracy

During the Period of Theocracy, the sovereignty of the state was vested in God. The king was only the representative of God or Heaven. The idea of the divine power of the state, as indicated by Dr. Sun, was due to ignorance and the in experience of the primitive tribe during that period of time. Knowledge concerning natural phenomena was beyond the comprehension of the ancients. The calamities that happened in the time were regarded as the condemnation of Heaven on the people for their sin and evil, as it usually caused the death and injuries of human beings. "Natural calamities did not come at regular times nor were they easily prevented: a storm would blow their houses down; a flood would overwhelm them; a fire would burn them to the ground; or a stroke of lightning would demolish them. The four disasters—flood, fire, storm and lightning—the ancients could not understand.....and these catastrophes of Nature could not be fought, as the wild beasts were, with bodily strength, and so there arose the idea of divine power."⁶² The savage tribes in Africa and the Mongolians and Tibetans in a sense are still under the control of theocracy. Moreover, the relics of the period of theocracy remained more or less in the present advanced countries." Japan is even yet a monarchy and worships its gods; the Japanese give their emperor the title of Tenno ('Heavenly King'). We used to speak of the emperor of China as the 'Son of Heaven' in the days when we still clung to theocracy.....Formerly, the Roman emperor was also the religious head of his state; when Rome fell and the emperor was deposed, the city retained its political power, and its religious authority and the people of all nations still pay homage to the pope in Rome just as the various states in the time of the Spring and Autumn Annals (551 B. C. — 221 B. C.) did reverence to the Chou dynasty.⁶³ The saying of the noted Roman jurist, Ulpian, that "Jurisprudence is a knowledge of things human and divine, the science of the just and unjust" (*jurisprudentia est divinarum atque humanarum rerum notita, justae atque injustae scientia*) is another evidence of the existence of the period of theocracy. In fact, the Decalogue, Maru, Koran, Manava Dharmastra together with the Bible have been the legal as well as the social and religious norm of human conduct in the various societies through numerous ages.⁶⁴

62 & 63. Ibid. pp. 161--163.

64. Liu, S. L., *Principles of Jurisprudence*, (in Chinese), pp. 26-28.

ii. The state in the Period of Autocracy

The struggle of the king and the pope, the state and the church, the imperium and the sacerdotium, in the medieval age, resulted in the success of the king and brought about the superior position of the state over the church. The imperium instead of the sacerdotium possessed the supreme authority over the political society, and the society, and the sovereignty of the state, was vested upon the king or emperor himself. The emperor had the sole authority to say the final word in terms of law. In the age of James I in England and Louis XIV in France, the imperium had reached its climax. "Free Monarchy" of James I is the royal government which is independent of coercion both by foreign princes and by sectaries or feudatories within the kingdom, and the kings "are breathing images of God upon earth", "and so it follows of necessity, that kings were authors and makers of the laws, and not the laws of the kings." And the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV centralised all the powers of the state in the hands of the emperor, the only response consonant with Louis's autocracy was that of Bossuet: "The royal throne is not the throne of a man but of God himself."⁶⁵

The historical background for the autocracy was well described by Dr. Sun: "After the age of warfare with wild animals came the struggles with Nature and out of these struggles was born theocracy. The next step in history was autocracy, when mighty warriors and political leaders wrested the power away from the religious rulers or put themselves at the head of the churches and appointed themselves kings. A period of struggle between man and man thus evolved. When struggles between man and man began to take the place of struggles with Nature, people realized that simple dependence upon the power of religious faith could neither protect society nor aid in warfare and that an enlightened government and strong military power were necessary in order to compete with other peoples. Men have fought against men since the beginning of recorded history. At first they employed both the power of religion and the power of autocracy in their struggles; later, as theocracy weakened and, after the dissolution of the Roman Empire, gradually decayed, autocracy became stronger until, in the reign of Louis XIV of France, it reached the peak of its power. Louis XIV said that there was no difference between the king and the state—— 'I am the king, therefore I am the state'. He took every power of the state into his own hands and exercised despotism to its limits, just as did Chin Shih Wang (秦始皇) of China".⁶⁶ In the absolute monarchy, the will of the king is the will of the state, the command of the

65. Sabine, George H.: *A history of political theory*, pp. 395-396, 543.

66. *San Min Chu I*, pp. 164-65.

king is the law of the political society. The state, as Han Koo Tzu (漢高祖), the first emperor of Han dynasty, once asserted, is the King's private property. The king is above the law and his power is humanly unlimited. If Bodin's definition of sovereignty as the "highest power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law"⁶⁷ is true, the king himself is the sovereignty of the state in the period of autocracy. In addition, unlike the sovereignty in Bodin's theory, the power of the king is even not fettered by the so-called law of God or of nature. As James I said: "kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called Gods."⁶⁸ Accordingly, resistance to the king can never be justified, since the justification would require the approval of the king himself. During this period of time, the defense of tyrannicide which John of Salisbury argued about in the medieval ages could no longer be thought of.⁶⁹

iii. The state in the Period of Democracy

Right after the period of autocracy is the Period of Democracy. During this period the sovereignty is vested neither in king nor the vassals nor the aristocrats. The relation of the people to the state, according to Dr. Sun, is somewhat like that of the shareholder to a corporation. In other words, the state is a corporate political body. A mere multitude, however, he argued, can not have rights and cannot act; only individual men can do this, a conclusion which follows from the proposition that any collective body is merely artificial. Consequently, the state as well as the corporation must exist for the members as a whole. Every one may take part in the discussion and any more power than the determination of the policy which is of public concern. No one has any one else, and the government is only the agency set up by the people and it may function at the latter's pleasure. Nevertheless, the transition of the sovereignty from the king to the people has due partly to the development of the people's self-consciousness and knowledge, and partly due to the reactionary exploits of the kings which are the fuses of the democratic revolution all over the world during the last few centuries. "The absolute monarchy became more terrible every day until the people could bear it no longer. About this time science was beginning to make steady progress and the general intelligence of mankind was steadily rising. As a result, a new consciousness was born. The people saw that autocracy was something that only grasped for power, made private property of the state and of the people, contributed to the gratification of one individual and did not care about the sufferings of the many; as it became unbearable they

67. Coker, Francis W.: *Recent Political Thought*, p. 500.

68. Sabine, G. H., *Ibid.* p. 396.

69. see Sabine, G. H. pp. 247. 250.

realized with increasing clearness that, since the system was iniquitous, they should resist it, and that resistance meant revolution. So, during the last hundred years, the tides of revolutionary thought have run high and have given rise to democratic revolutions, struggles between people and kings.....We are now in the fourth period,⁷⁰ of war within states, when the people are battling against their monarchs and kings. The issue now is between good and evil, between right and might. The power of the people is the people's sovereignty—the age of democracy.”⁷¹ Since John Locke, the most prominent political theorist of his time, justified the inalienability of the natural rights of the people, which brought about the success of the French Revolution and the independence of the United States of America, the current of the democratic movement had never been more swift, nor could it be stopped. Howbeit, the so-called democracy in modern countries, he charged, is not real democracy since the economical inequality prevents the people from being equal in political status. The so-called representative governments, according to him, have often been the tools used by the capitalists to exploit the common people, and have never been really representative of the people as a whole. For this reason, ever since Dr. Sun resolved to overthrow the Manchu regime in 1885, he always maintained that the masses of the people, and not merely the privileged few, should be the beneficiaries of the national revolution led by him. And the same principle was stressed in the Manifesto of the First National Convention of the Chinese Nationalist Party on Jan. 24, 1921. The tendency of the future democratic movement everywhere over the world will tend to the ideal stage where popular sovereignty will be the true basis of the political community.

iv. The state in the period of the Great Commonwealth

When human nature will have evolved from the period of animality to the period of humanity and from the period of the Great Common-wealth sounds its advent to the human society. The Golden Age, according to Dr. Sun, is in the future, not in the past. The doctrine, of 'jen' (仁)—the maximum degree of fellow-feeling of human beings will be the foundation of the Great Commonwealth. Although the follow-felling of human beings, as in Confucianist conception, is common to all men, yet the self as different from the 'ego' stands at the centre. The intensity of the assertion of fellow-feeling in human relations depends upon the length of the radii of the surrounding circles. Therefore, as a matter of human nature, love for one's kind always exists among those whom we hold dearest and know best. To extend compassion or love to those cases where one is not personally concerned is the expansion of fellow-

70. Price, I. pp. 165-166.

71. see *Puppra*. pp. 11-12.

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feeling. Since the relation between the differences of the radii of which the fellow-feeling is cultivated, accordingly, if and when the fellow-feeling extends to its maximum degree, the Great Commonwealth, or 'Grand Union' shall come into being once for all. "When the Great Doctrine prevails," described the Chinese Greatest Sage, Confucius, in the *Book of Rites*, "all under heaven will work for the common good. The virtuous will be elected to office, and the able be given responsibility. Faithfulness will be the constant practice and harmony will rule. Consequently men will not only love their own parents but will also look after all the young employed in work. Infants will be fathered; widows and widowers, the fatherless and the unmarried, the disabled and the sick will all be cared for. The men will have their rights, and the women their home. No goods will go to waste, nor need they be stored for private possession. No energy should be retained in one's own body, or used for personal gain. Self-interest ceases, and theiving and disorders are not known. Therefore the gates of the houses are never closed. This State is called the Great Common-wealth."⁷²

"An analysis of this passage", Said Mr. Liang Chi-chao, the noted contemporary scholar and reformist of Dr. Sun, "indicates three things. First, it conceives of a super-national organization having the whole world as its field. No hereditary rights are recognized, but government is formed by direct popular election and its administration is founded on fellow-feeling. Second, the tribal family is the unit of society, but its spirit transcends family considerations. Only biological differences are recognized, while emphasis is laid on 'the young shall have work'. The aged and infants are all supported by the favors of those who are young and strong. Third, natural wealth is exploited to the utmost but not for private ownership. The sacredness of labour is intimated, but no one is to work for himself. In this is a likeness to the claim of modern socialists that every man should work for his own living; but the likeness is superficial. Fundamentally, the confucianist is an idealist, opposed to a materialist conception of life; his principle is of 'work for work's sake'.⁷³ No matter how different the political ideals of Dr. Sun are from those of Mr. Liang, nevertheless, both of them accepted the Great Common-wealth as their ideal state to which they devoted themselves for its realization. However, they urged diverse and contradictory means.

IV. THE CONCORD OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

The conception of sovereignty belongs essentially to modern political

72. Liang, C.C.: *Chinese Political Thought*, P. 44; compare with the translation of Thomas, Elbert Duncan: *Chinese Political thought*, pp. 44-45.

73. Ibid. pp. 44-45.

theory, although in Aristotle's theory there is a recognition of the fact that there must be supreme power existing in the state, and that this power may be in the hands of one, or of few, or of many. However, his conception of the state is one which is equipped with all that is necessary to the good life. He asserts autocracy or self-sufficiency to be the distinguishing mark of the state, the political independence being only an unessential element of the equipment. Therefore, his idea of it is just an ethical conception, while the modern concept of sovereignty is political and legal. During the Middle Ages the strife of authority centered about the controversy between the pope and the emperor. The decrees of the emperor, the pope, and the king, which frequently conflicted with one another, were even opposed and checked by local law and custom. Nowhere is there an unambiguous authority standing at the head of a unified political and legal system. Nevertheless, it was from this welter of conflicting authorities and rival jurisdictions that the national state eventually emerged and with it the political conception of sovereignty. The work of Louis XIV and William I as well as Henry VIII and Elizabeth was a work of consolidation, unification, nationalization which welded the task of absolute monarchy of which the concept of sovereignty was the theoretical corner-stone.⁷⁴ This conception set up the ideal of a legal independence free from all external control and a legal supremacy over all the internal affairs of the kingdom. In particular it was the king of France who in the sixteenth century achieved the title to be described as "in his own kingdom, as it were, a corporeal God". And in 1576, Jean Bodin first formulated a definition of the state which made sovereign power its essential characteristic. The state consists of citizens subject to some sovereign power and the sovereignty is "the absolute and perpetual power of a commonwealth" (*La puissance absolue et perpetuelle d'une Republique*), or in the Latin edition (1586), "the supreme power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law" (*Suprema potestas in cives ac subditos, legibus soluta*).⁷⁵ Later theorists went further, building up more specifically and clearly the content of our contemporary doctrine of legal sovereignty. Thomas Hobbes in the seventeenth century, Rousseau and Blackstone in the eighteenth century, and the analytical jurists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, are generally regarded as having set forth the doctrine in its most typical form. On the other hand, the pluralist ideas, as set forth by Dr. J. Neville Figgis, Harold J. Laski, and A. D. Lindsay in England, and Leon Duguit in France asserted that man's social nature finds expression in numerous groupings, pursuing

74. Sabine G. H. and Shepard, W. J. "Translators' Introduction", In H. Krabbe, *The Modern idea of the state*, p. XVIII.

75. Merriam, C. E. *History of the theory of sovereignty since Rousseau*, p. 14. see also F. W. Coker: *Readings in Political Philosophy*, p. 374.

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various ends - religious, social, economic, professional, political; no one of the groups is superior, morally or practically, to the others. This sort of doctrine is in part a rationalization of recent practical movements that look in various ways towards a more decentralized application of social control. However, none of them follows the anarchist or the extreme syndicalist before the first World War and makes these groups other than the political association independent of the state. Geirke, the noted German jurist, although maintaining that both individuals and associations must be recognized as having domains of free existence unassailable by the state, yet maintained that the state is sovereign where general interests demanding the exertion of power for their maintenance are concerned. Paul-Bonucdour regards the state as the sole representative of general interest and of national solidarity. Dr. Figgis also described the state as the "society of societies" and assigned to it a distinctive function and a superior authority as an agency of coordination and adjustment. Professor Laski also retained a single political organization with a considerable concentration of power over the several economic units in his proposed scheme of economic institutions and sanctioned "the ultimate reserve power of the state". And as matter of fact, all the other associations do habitually recognise the state's supreme authority whenever it needs an assertion of this authority to protect it from other groups that contest its freedom of action in a sphere it claims as its own. Therefore, notwithstanding the attacks by the state sovereignty, that the state possesses certain supreme power or authority over all the 'other' or 'voluntary' associations within it, the state is in fact recognized by all the modern political schools except the extremists such as the anarchists or some syndicalists. Consequently the problem is where, or upon whom, the state sovereignty shall be vested and to what extent, or in what sphere, the state may properly control the individual's conduct and restrict the people's freedom. This is one of the most persistent of all political questions, and the problem is to discover what sort of activities of the individual must be controlled by government and what acts should be free from governmental guidance or restraint. In other words, this problem is to determine or to draw the real boundary between state sovereignty and people's freedom. Rousseau tried centuries ago to find a means by an inconceivable art making men free by making them subject."⁷⁶ However, his attempts resulted in a sort of paradox whose arguments contradicted one another. On the other hand, the individualists of the last two centuries attempted to limit the state authority over individuals as far as possible either upon the basis of the theory of natural rights or utilitarianism, or on the ground that, a policy of restraint hampers the intellectual and moral development of the individual restrained; or it deprives society of an indis-

76. Rousseau: *Social Contract*. Ch. 1.

pensable means for discovering truth and securing its widest and most effective acceptance or that it would make popular government impossible, or even on the doctrine of economic laissez-faire. Owing to the influence of the social movement, however, individualism has been replaced, or at least modified by socialism and collectivism. In some cases even by the idealism of Hegelian and the Oxford group. As a counterattack on individualism, the Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany even went so far as to justify the conception of state being absolutely above all.

In general, Dr. Sun's philosophy of state, in a sense, exalts the corporate political community above the individuals, as the state, being the representative of the people as a whole, is different from the multitude of individuals. The state as such is, for all citizens and in all matters, the highest arbiter of conduct and opinion; and is entitled to choose its own means of vindicating its supremacy without exceeding its limit and abusing its power which the people grant for the purpose of their self-preservation. Time and again he argued for a powerful government responsible, however, to the control of the people, for which workable means had been elaborated and which shall be dealt with in the following chapter. The reasoning for his sanction of state intervention over individual freedom could be explained as follows:

First of all he is a collectivist. In one of his lectures titled '*The Origin and Application of Socialism*', he appraised the merits of socialism, especially collectivism: "socialism, as I understand it, is the only guidance to the stage of the self-sufficient state and wealthy people. It is derived out of the social evolution to communize all the products, property of the society in order that all the members of the society may enjoy. When socialism is put in practice, the youth will be educated, the age will be taken good care of. Every body has a suitable work according to his interest and special skill. The society shall be a harmonious community as every one works for it, thus China shall be a real socialist state." Therefore, he continuously argued, "at present, we must better the organization of the society, every one does his best for the realization of collectivism—the most important task on hand today."⁷⁷ Furthermore, the end and nature of his Principle of Livelihood are socialistic in character. More than once he declared that the Min Sen Principle is socialism and it differs from communism only in the means they use, not in the principle. Likewise, his principle of equalization of landownership, regulation of private capital and development of national enterprise must be carried out by means of state intervention so that the inequality in wealth of individuals may be wiped out and the people shall have equal rights and means to self-preservation.

⁷⁷. Ibid.

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Secondly, Dr. Sun is of the opinion that the freedom of the state is more important than that of the individual, as the former is the prerequisite to the latter. Without the freedom and independence of the state there is no reason for the existence of the individual freedom. In the status of a semi-colony, as China then was, to talk about individual freedom without first pursuing the independence of the state is trying to fish in the forests. In the beginning of his most noted work, he remarked that the San Min principles are "by the simplest definition, the principles for our nation's salvation."⁷⁸ So he enunciated in his will "For forty years I have devoted my self to the cause of the people's revolution with but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations".

Thirdly, from the beginning to the end, Dr. Sun rejected the theory of natural selection of social Darwinism in the period of humanity of human history. To him, modern civilization is the labor of the past through the co-operation of individuals, not through the struggle of contending classes. Quite contrary to the ideal of Karl Marx, he argued that the state is not the means of one class in society to suppress or exploit another. Instead, it is the means by which the people as a whole cooperate with each other without any discrimination as to class, either economic or social. It may sometimes happen that one class may use or did use the state as the instrument for their purpose to exploit the other. However, it is the misuse of the state, not the natural purpose of the state. And as a rule it was the misuse of the state which stimulated the ceaseless revolution which aimed at the overthrowing of the abusing of the state by one class to quash the other. And for the purpose of eliminating the evils, the state of the people as a whole must make some arrangements or use its power to equalize ownership; to abolish the causes which produce contending classes in society or to restrain the various classes, if any, from contending against each other. Accordingly, that the state should have the supreme power to arbitrate and to intervene is beyond all question.

A careful study of the development of modern capitalism in the West convinced him that "economic individualism shall undoubtedly lead to the capitalist monopoly, the existence of which shall divide men into separate opposing economic classes, the inequality of wealth, and the segregation of the rich and the poor."⁷⁹ Therefore, he proposed to establish public or state ownership of the principal resources and instrumentalities of production and

78. *Ibid.* P.

79. Sun, *How to develop the Chinese Enterprises*, Lectures vol. 1.

distribution in order that the state may contribute economic benefits directly to all its citizens and avoid the conflicts with capitalists, as in foreign countries, where large capital is in private hands.

Finally, but none the less important as the state is the representative of the people as a whole, the sovereign power is vested in the people. Incidentally, what the state should do is to be decided by the whole people in their capacity as the sovereign of the state. And, logically, as it is to be decided upon by the people themselves as a whole, it should by no means be contrary to their interests and their general will. The people work as a whole through the corporate body politic—the state. Hence, the action of the state should not be limited provided that the state is truly the representative of the people as a whole, not of a certain individual or a group of individuals. Therefore the problem is not so much what the state should do, as by what means the state could do the most for individuals. Although he greatly glorified the state and regarded its authority as inevitably embodied in a powerful government, nevertheless he held that popular sovereignty is the final supreme power within the state to which the government is responsible. In order to prevent the absolute stateism as in the hegelian philosophy, Dr. Sun projected his most noted constitutional theory based upon the fundamental concept: the distinction between the political power of the people and the administrative power of the government, usually referred to as the separation of sovereignty and ability. The government must be both complete and powerful, but at the same time it must be thoroughly subordinate to popular sovereignty. So far as the power is held by the people, the government is vested with the capacity to do whatever the state is supposed to do without being afraid of exceeding its limit or abusing its power.

In general, however, the people's basic liberty and freedom must be respected and protected by the political authority in the community. A political society, as we have been, is, after all, set by the people for the purpose of their self-preservation and political authority, is justifiable only within this limit as necessary for its realization. The peoples of the West fought for liberty for centuries because autocracy had developed to the extreme in those countries, and the Western Europeans two centuries ago were groaning under the painful yoke of autocracy just as Chinese today are groaning under the yoke of poverty.⁸⁰

As it might be expected, his arguments for the basic liberty of individuals is not based upon the assumption of natural rights of man. And Rous-

80. *San Min Chu I*, P. 196.

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seau's theory had been particularly criticized. "According to his theory," charged Dr. Sun, "the people are given their sovereign rights by Nature; but as we study the evolution of history, we see that democracy has not been Heaven-born but has been wrought out of the conditions of the times and the movements of events."⁸¹ Nor are all men created equal. "Nature," she said, "originally did not make men equal.....and only recently, in the light of science, have people begun to realize that there is no principle of natural equality."⁸² However, he did agree with Rousseau, if we may say so, on the point that "excessive individual liberty," as Rousseau described as the "natural liberty", should be limited, and that "civil liberty" is the only one to be respected and protected. "Liberty was not a sacred thing which could not be encroached upon, but it must be put within boundaries".⁸³ And he quite agreed with John Stuart Mill when he pointed out that "only the individual liberty which does not interfere with the liberty of others can be considered true liberty".⁸⁴

As for him, the trouble besetting the Chinese is too much "excessive individual liberty" so as to be criticised as a "sheet of loose sand." What the Chinese have not had is the word for 'liberty' and hence the idea of liberty⁸⁵

That being so, "we ought to add cement and water as quickly as possible, consolidate (the loose sand) into rock, and become a firm body".⁸⁶ On no account must we give more liberty to the individual", continued he, "let us secure liberty instead for the nation. The individual should not have too much liberty, but the nation should have complete liberty".⁸⁷

V. THE QUINTUPLE-POWER CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY—DISTINCTION BETWEEN POWER AND CAPACITY VS. SEPARATION OF POWERS.

Dr. Sun's proposal respecting the political organization of the state has since been regarded as one of the most significant aspects in his political doctrine. And as a matter of fact, the present Constitution of the Republic of China as adopted Dec. 25, 1946, is more or less based upon his concept

81. *Ibid*, p. 174.

82. *Ibid*. p. 217 & 220.

83. *Ibid*. p. 204.

84. *Ibid*. p. 217 & 220.

85. *Ibid*. p. 213.

86. *Ibid*. p. 204.

87. *Ibid*. P. 213,

with certain minor modifications as deemed necessary to the existing circumstances. However, I shall deal with only the basic idea of his constitutional theory as the discussion of the details of the political structure would exceed the limited scope of this paper.

The constitutional theory of Dr. Sun is based upon the fundamental concept: The distinction of the political power of the people and the administrative power of the government. While the purpose of the principle of checks and balances in the traditional theory of separation of powers ever since Montesquieu is to set up a system of legal checks and balances between the parts of the government in order to preserve individual freedom, on the contrary, Dr. Sun's distinction between power and capacity is to provide a workable institution for a powerful government, yet without violating the basic liberty of the people. Thus on the one hand, the government shall be vested with ample authority in the government service, and on the other hand, arrangements should be made to prevent the government from abusing its power contrary to the interests of all the people. The only means for this purpose is the separation of sovereignty and ability. "The greatest fear of modern democratic states", observed Dr. Sun, "is an all-powerful government which the people have no way of checking, but yet the first thing would be an all-powerful government in the employ of all the people and working for the welfare of all the people....What is both feared and desired is an all-powerful government. First....the people dread an all-powerful government which they cannot control, that it asks how an all-powerful government which will work for the people can be secured, and how it can be made responsive to the will of the people.....And I have thought of a method to solve the problem, the method which I have thought of is a new discovery in political theory and is a fundamental solution of the whole problem..... (The principle which I have advocated is) that distinction should be made between sovereignty and ability."⁸⁸ Thus he went on to say: After China secures a powerful government, we must not be afraid, as Western peoples are, that the government will become too strong and get out of our control. Because our plan for the reconstructed state includes the division of the political power of the whole state into two parts. The political power will be given into the hands of the people, who will have a full degree of sovereignty and will be able to control directly the affairs of state; this political power is popular sovereignty. The other power is government, and we will put that entirely in the government organs, which will be powerful and will manage

88. Since this is first reference in this chapter gives in full author - title do. p.p. 293-296. the distinction of 'Chuan' and 'Nun' in Dr. Sun's theory, in my opinion, should be translated into distinction between 'power' and 'capacity' instead of 'sovereignty' and 'ability'.

all the nation's business; this political power is the power of government."⁸⁹ Consequently, four controlling powers, to wit: suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum, were reserved to the people, while the five administrative powers, namely, legislative, judicial, executive, civil service examination and censorship were vested upon the government.⁹⁰ The most significant difference between the quintuple-power constitution and the triple-power system is that, the former is to concentrate and unify the administrative powers in the hand of the government, the latter is to separate these powers from being integrated in the government organs, while the latter tries to set up a system of legal checks and balances among the government agencies with a view to weakening the power of the government, the former exerts to launch an all-powerful government, subordinate, however, to the popular sovereignty. To him, moreover the importance of the four controlling powers of the people is not so much the positive use of them by the people, as a negative guarantee of the individuals. The function of the initiative and referendum, for example, is not for the people to legislate or recall directly all the measures in all instances, but rather to initiate when the government fails to act or to recall such legislations of the government repugnant to the welfare of the people.

In order to set up an all-powerful government subject to the popular sovereignty based upon the principle of distinction of powers and capacity, Dr. Sun, on the one hand, urged the importance of the government of specialists to "put the important affairs of the nation in the hands of capable men"⁹¹ We must trust the officers of the government as the owner of a car trusts the skilful chauffeur. "We are therefore," asserted he, "to look upon all the officers of the government, from president and premier down to heads of departments, as specially trained chauffeurs; if they are able men and loyal to the nation, we should be willing to give the 'ample authority'⁹² of the state into their hands. We must not limit their movements but give them freedom of action; then the state can progress with rapid strides."⁹³ Hence the problem is how to get the specialists as the officers of the government. Therefore, China's old independent examination system was adopted as the means for the selection of able men, while the power of censorship, including the power to impeach, is copied down to remove the incompetent as well

89. Ibid. p. 345.

90. Ibid. pp. 353-360.

91. Ibid. p. 313.

92. The original translation of this phrase is 'sovereignty' instead of 'ample authority', which, in my opinion, is improper as compared with the original Chinese phrase.

93. Price, cited. pp. 314-315.

as the inefficient public employees. On the other hand, due to the inexperience and apathy of the people, it is difficult, not impossible, for the people to exercise the four controlling powers at a stroke. Accordingly, after the revolutionary troops finally destroyed the autocracy of the Tsing dynasty, drove out the corrupt bureaucracy, rooted out the evil practices, got rid of unjust slavery, Dr. Sun inaugurated the period of political tutelage before proceeding to the period of constitutional government. During this period of time, it is the duty of the government "to enable the people to be competent in their knowledge of politics, the government should undertake to train and guide them so that they may know how to exercise their rights of election, recall, initiative, and referendum."⁹⁴ Furthermore, as soon as order and peace within the province is completely restored "the task will be to establish local self-government and facilitate the consolidation of the power of the people, making the 'hsien' (county) the unit of local self-government, sub-divided into villages and rural districts."⁹⁵ As soon as all the 'hsien' become self-governing, through learning and practice in the democratic techniques, the provincial government shall be released to democratic control. "When more than one half of the provinces in the country have reached the constitutional government stage, i.e. when more than one-half of the provinces have local self-government fully established in all their districts, there shall be a National Congress to decide on the adoption and promulgation of the Constitution....."⁹⁶ Then the political organization of the state shall be provided in the Constitution with five administrative powers of the government and four controlling powers of the people.

94. Linebarger, P.M.A.: *The Political doctrine of Sun Yat-sen*. p. 211, cited from Tyau Min-chien: *Two years of Nationalist China*.

95. Sun Yat-sen, *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary*. p. 120.

96. Linebarger, cited, pp. 211-212.

Ta-tu, Tai-tu, Dayidu

By Henry Serruys, c.i.c.m.

When Qubilai (Shih-tsu 世祖) in the secone half of the thirteenth century, established his capital in what in modern times has been called Peking, or Pei-p'ing, he first called it Chung-tu 中都 "the Central Capital," name under which the city had already been known under the Chin 金 dynasty.¹ In 1272, the new Yüan capital built next to Chung-tu was given a new name, Ta-tu 大都, or rather Tai-tu as it was then pronounced, "the Great Capital."² In Mongol this new name was written Dayidu (<tai-tu). Later during the Ming Dayidu remained the Mongol name for the Chinese capital, but the Mongols seem to have forgotten very soon the original meaning of the name Dayidu. For them the name *dayidu* came to mean "capital" in general so that towards the end of the Ming period, the author of the chronicle *Ča-yau teüke* (1578) redundantly spoke of "the construction of four great Dayidus," and similarly the author of a later chronicle *Altan kürdün mingγan kegesütü bičig* (1739) spoke of "great Dayidu."³

The name of the Yüan capital, Ta-tu, or Tai-tu, Dayidu, has known further interesting developments and has been used with various meanings. It was used 1. as a personal name, sometimes enlarged through addition of other elements, 2. it became the Mongol name fore some imperial documents, and 3. it became the name of a Mongol clan.

Ta-tu, or Tai-tu, soon became a personal name. So far as my knowledge goes, however, few persons with that name are attested for the Yüan period itself. There is one mentioned in the *Hsin Yüan-shih*.⁴ But the name Ta-tu ~Tai-tu, written with a variety of characters, appears in several places of the *Ming shih-lu*. In 1413, we meet with one Tai-tu 歹都, an envoy from Western Mongolia.⁵ There is one other Tai-tu 歹都 mentioned in 1428, 1430, and 1449.⁶ This latter Tai-tu, Dayidu; was a chieftain of the tribe Fu-yü 福餘 in present-day Manchuria, recognized as a vassal by the Ming government in Peking. Character 歹 *tai*, of cours, is only a variant writing for 大 (*ta*~) *tai*. As has already been noted, at this time Ta(i)-tu, Dayidu, was still the name used by the Mongols for Peking of the Ming. This appears from two passages of the *Shih-lu* in connection with the Oyirad attempt to conquer the Ming capital in 1449.⁷ Towards the end of the Ming dynasty, in 1626, an-

other chieftain of the same Fu-yü tribe is called Ta-tu. This time the name is written with *ta* 打.⁸ This new spelling indicates that once the Chinese pronunciation of 大 had shifted from *tai* to *ta*, any character with a *ta* reading even if not derived from an earlier *tai*, could be substituted for 大. Among the descendants of Dayan-qan's fourth son there was one Ta-tu 答度.⁹ These late *Ta-tu* forms suggest that at some time in Mongol there existed a *Dadu* pronunciation of the personal name. The Jür'ed tribes in present day Manchuria among whom Mongol names were very popular also had their *Dayidus*. For example, one is mentioned in the *Shih-lu* in 1411,¹⁰ and a second one in 1460,¹¹ and the Veritable Records of the first Manchu emperor, *Man-chou shih-lu* 滿洲實錄, speak of one Dayidu-mergen, rendered as Tai-tu-mi-ling 岱度密令 in the Chinese text.¹²

This last case is a combination of the word *dayidu* with a second element. In fact there are more examples from the Yüan and the Ming of combinations of *dayidu* with other words either Mongol or Chinese. The *Ming* (*Hung-wu*) *shih-lu*¹³ mentions one Ta(i)-tu-hu-erh 虎兒, where *hu-erh* is the translation of Mongol *bars* "tiger" which itself was a personal name.

In an explanatory note following one of K'o Chiu-ssu's 柯九思 *Palace Poems*, the author mentions one Ta(i)-tu-ch'ih 大都赤 (*Dayiduči*), an official at the place in the first half of the 14th century.¹⁴ Prof. Fr. W. Cleaves explains the construction of this name as a combination of Ta(i)-tu + the Mongol suffix of a *nomen agentis* in -či. This combined form could be translated as "Keeper of Dayidu."

Still another element that came to be combined with Ta(i)-tu to form personal names was *lū* 驢. As in the case of *hu-erh* of the foregoing lines, *lū* goes back to a Mongol original. It is the translation of *elᠢige*, "donkey," which alone was a personal name, although not too often used. Perhaps for reasons of euphemism, *elᠢige* in its Chinese form *lū* very often came to be written 間. *Lū* 間 must have looked nicer to Chinese readers than *lū* 驢. C. R. Bawden¹⁵ quotes a text from the *Meng-Han-Man Wen Shan-ho* 蒙漢滿文三合 where in the definition of the Mongol term *elᠢige*, *lū* 驢 is actually written 間. A member of a Chinese family in the service of the Yüan bore the name Ta(i)-tu-lū, *Dayidu-lū*.¹⁶ It should be noted that this man was Chinese not Mongol, but it is a known fact that under the Yüan many Chinese had assumed Mongol names. Indeed, several other members of the same family bore names consisting of various elements combined with *lū*.

Ta-tu was not the only city whose name became a personal name among the Mongols. Besides Ta(i)-tu-lū we find one Shang-tu-lū 上都驢 "Lū, or

Eliige, from Shang-tu" (Shang-tu was the summer residence of the Yüan emperors). This Shang-tu-lü is mentioned in both the *Ming shih-lu* and the *Ming shih*.¹⁷ He surrendered to the Ming in 1372 in the Idzinai area, north of Kansu province. The fact that the name in this case is written with *lū* "donkey" would suffice to prove the origin of the other *lū* in Ta(i)-tu-lü.

In the *Chia-ching shih lu*¹⁸ mention is made of a Mongol from Ch'ing-hai (Köke-nuur) by the name of Ta(i)-t'ung大同. Ch'ü Chiu-ssu 瞿九思 in his *Wan-li wu-kung lu* 萬曆武功錄¹⁹ calls him Ta(i)-t'ung-i-han-ta-han, probably to be read Dayitung-yeke-darqan: Great Darqan Dayitung. The name Dayitung (Tai~ta-t'ung) was still in use in the 17th century: there is one Čaqar official in Dolôn-nuur with the name Tai-t'ung岱通.²⁰ With regard to the pronunciation of the name of the town Ta-t'ung, it should be noted that a few years ago many elderly people in North Shansi still regularly pronounced Tā-t'ung (< tai). The same pronunciation is heard in many other dialects.

Since, as appears from the foregoing lines, Chinese characters used in transcriptions of Mongol names are of less importance than their pronunciation, the name of Ta(i)-tu-lü's brother, Ch'üan-lü全閭, in Mongol Sön-lü,²¹ could very well be explained as a derivation from the name of another town, called Hsüan-ning 宣寧, or Hsüan-te 宣德, under the Yüan. This town is situated in the general area between Peking (Ta-tu), Shang-tu, and Ta-t'ung, and became known under the Ming as Hsüan-fu 宣府, and later Hsüan-hua 宣化.²²

Through another semantical development, *dayidu* became the name of a document, or patent, granted by the Ming dynasty to some Mongol princes who had distinguished themselves. The name of the Ming capital from which those documents emanated came to designate the documents themselves. In order to explain this second development we shall have to begin by reviewing three Mongol texts, one from Saγang-sečen's *Erdeni-yin tobči*, the other two from the *Altan tobči*.

Speaking of the return of the Cheng-t'ung emperor who had been captured by the Oyirad leader Esen tayisi in 1449, Saγang-sečen says: "dayiming jingtai qaγan-i kürge jü öggüksen-dür, jirγuγan mingγan üčiyed-tür dayidu-yin sira nere dayasi-ügei sang-yi γarγa jü ögbei"—"when they [i.e. the Mongols] returned and delivered the Ching-t'ai emperor of the Great Ming, (the Ming) conferred upon the Six-Thousand Üčiyed (tribe) the great imperial [lit. yellow] title *dayidu* (together with) great treasures (in an amount) impossible to carry."²³ The Chinese translators of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, like Schmidt, working with a corrupt manuscript, write quite differently: "they returned

the Cheng-t'ung emperor [汗=qan] of the Great Ming, and when they left Liu-wu-ch'i-yeh-t'e, (the Ming) gave (the Mongols) from the Great Treasury gifts (in amounts) impossible to carry and containing gold and silver from Ta-tu,"²⁴ In this Chinese translation there is nothing that corresponds to the Mongol expression "Great imperial title" of Saγang-sečen's narrative; on the other hand, the Chinese translators were well aware that *dayidu* originally was the name of the Chinese capital and they translated accordingly regardless of the new meaning which the word had acquired among the Mongols. "Liu-wu-ch'i-yeh-t'e" stands for "Six [Thousand] Üčiyed." Like Schmidt, they mistakenly took this tribal name for a place name.

In another Mongol chronicle, *Altan tobči*,²⁵ we read the following two texts: "yunglo dayiming nere ürgübe gekü. kücün-iyen ögbe geǰü ölke [-yin] Ĵirγuγan mingγan üčiyed ulus-tur γurban Ĵaγun dayidu soyurqaba. Ĵürčid ulus-tu nigen mingγan Ĵirγuγan Ĵaγun dayidu soyurqubai gekü. . ."—"It is said that they proffered to Yung-lo the name Great Ming.²⁶ Saying 'they have given (me) their strength,' he granted three hundred *dayidu* to the people of the Six-Thousand Üčiyed of the south side (of the mountains) and one thousand six hundred *dayidu* to the Ĵürčid people,"²⁷ and later in connection with the return of the Cheng-t'ung emperor in 1450, the same chronicle has this to say: "ölke-yin Ĵirγuγan üčiyed kürge Ĵü öggüged dayidu abuba. yunglo qaγan-dur kücün-iyen ögčü γurban Ĵaγun dayidu, Ĵingtai qaγan-dur kücün-iyen ögčü γurban Ĵaγun dayidu. ölke-yin Ĵirγuγan Ĵaγun dayidu tere bui:"—"The Six Thousand Üčiyed of the south side (of the mountains) bringing (the captive emperor) gave him back and received *dayidu*. Three hundred *dayidu* (received for) giving their strength to the Yung-lo emperor, and three hundred *dayidu* (received for) giving their strength to the Ching-t'ai [read Cheng-t'ung] emperor, these are the six hundred *dayidu* of the south side (of the mountains)."²⁸

None of these texts tells us what the term *dayidu* exactly means, except that saγang-sečen explains it as a title. As we shall see below this explanation seems owing to the fact that *dayidu* had already become a clan name, in other words that one or more groups of people in the possession of a number of *dayidu* had come to be known as *dayidu*.

It is certain, however, from the context of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* and the *Altan tobči* that *dayidu* constituted a kind of reward granted by the Ming emperors. And since this *dayidu*-reward was given by the Ming we should find additional information in contemporary Chinese sources. But first in order to find out what Chinese term corresponds to the Mongol word *dayidu* we must turn to the *Man-chou shih-lu* (*Man'ju-yin ün-en maγad qauli*).²⁹ One

passage of the Mongol version of this work reads as follows: "tere čaγ-tur dayiming ulus-un wan-lii qaγan-u tayidzi tayibu čola-tu lii čing-liyang neretü tüsimel-dür. qada-yin kümün qubina ju doγarur kürgeksen boro ünege. qara bulaya. altan mōnggun-i abuγad. lii čing-liyang yekege-yin činggiyanu. yangginu qoyar noyad-i. kai-yuwan qota-dur. dayidu-yin ed tawar ögsugei kemen arya-bar uri ju³⁰ abču ireged. wan-lii qaγan-u arban qoyaduγan on. köke bečin Jil-e. činggiyanu. yangginu qoyar noyad-ača terigülen. γurban jaγun čerig-un kümün-i qeser-ün süme-yin küriyen-ü datora qori ju bügüde-yi kituluγa."³¹— "At that time the people of Qada [a Manchu tribe: in Chinese 哈達] secretly [lit. underneath] brought brown foxes, black sables, gold and silver, wiospering to the official of the Wan-li emperor of the Great Ming people, named Li Ch'eng-liang 李成梁 with the title *t'ai-tzu t'ai-pao* 太子太保; who with a trick invited the two princes Činggiyanu 清佳努 and Yangginu 揚吉努 of the Yekege [Yehe 葉赫] to the town of K'ai-yuan 開原 with the promise to give them goods and ware for the *dayidu*³²; and as they came, in the twelfth year of the emperor Wan-li [1584] which was the year 'blue-ape' (甲申) (Li Ch'eng-liang) locked up in the yard of the temple of Qeser the three hundred soldiers beginning with the two princes Činggiyanu and Yangginu, and killed them all." The Chinese version of this passage, much less detailed, reads as follows: "In the year *chia-shen*, the twelfth year Wan-li, Li Ch'eng-liang, count of ning-yüan 寧遠伯 received bribes from the Ha-ta country, and under the pretext of granting *patents* 勅書 induced Ch'ing-chia-nu and Yang-chi-nu to com to K'ai-yuan. In the temple of Kuan-wang 關王,³³ together with the three hundred soldiers they had brought with them, he killed them all."

A second passage from the same work relates how Ming troops had killed Nurhači's father and grandfather and the emperor apologized to the ruler of the Manchus. Besides: "ečige köbegün qoyar noyad-un kegür-lüge ručün dayidu ručün morin kürgejü ireluge. tegün-ü qoyina basa dudu čola-tu yeke dayidu kurge ju irebesü. . ."³⁴ — "With the bodies of the two princes, father and son, (the Ming) brought thirty *dayidu* and thirty horses. Thereafter again, when they brought a *great dayidu* with the rank of *tu-tu* 都督...." Here a distinction is established between a *dayidu* and a *great dayidu*, the latter being a diploma or patent granting a title or a rank. In both cases, however, the Chinese text has *ch'ih-shu*. The Manchu text also has one term only for both types: *εjehe*.³⁵

A third passage to be considered reads as follows: "tere čaγ-tur dayiming ulus-un wan-lii qaγan-dur on būri ilege ju. tabun jaγun dayidu-yin ed abču ele. manju ulus-un γajar-ača γarqu erdeni-yin jūil gegen tana. subud. kümün-em. qara. boro. sira. γurban öngge-tü ünege. bulara. silügüsü. bars. irbis. ūker qaliru. sira qaliru. keremü. üne. edeger jūil jūil-ün öngge-yi beye-

degen emüscü būrun. fuşun-şuo. čing-qo. kuwan-dien. ai-yang ede örben qay-al-yasiyar qudaldı kiŋu ele. sang-un ed tawar abču. manju ulus ülemji bayan boluγad ögedegsi bolbai."³⁶—"Every year (the Manchus) sending envoys to the Wan-li emperor of the Great Ming, received goods for 500 *dayidu*³⁷; and (brought) various precious products of the country of the Manchu people: shining larger and smaller precious stones, ginseng, fox (furs) in three colors: black, brown, and yellow, sable, lynx, tiger, leopard, 'ox-otter' [海獺=sea-otter], yellow otter[水獺=common otter], squirrel, and weasel; donning these sorts of all varieties upon their persons,³⁸ they bartered them in the four 'ports'³⁹ of Fu-shun (so)撫順(所), Ch'ing-ho清河, K'uan-tien 寬甸, and Ai-yang 懷陽; they received goods and wares from the treasury,⁴⁰ and the Manchu people became extremely rich and prosperous [lit. they rose]."

The next relevant text read: "tayisu sečen noyan degü-yügen surqači noyan-u ökin esitei abaqai-yi ögču tabın quyaγ arban dayidu soyurqaγad yosulaŋu kürgegülbei."⁴⁰—"T'ai-tsu Sečen-noyan [i.e. 'Wise Prince'] giving princess Esitei, daughter of his younger brother Surqači (as wife to Buġantai) granted (him) fifty sets of armor and ten *dayidu* which he sent as a marriage present."

And finally the *Manju-yin ünün maran qauli* quotes the text of a letter from T'ai-tsu of the Manchus to the Ming emperor reading as follows: "tere bičig-tür talbiγsan üge inu. dayiming ulus-un qaran lioodung-un tüssimed-i bururusiyaŋu. kerem-eče γarču yekege ulus-i ömülen saγuγsan čerig-iyen qariγuluγad. namayi jöbsiyeŋu. doluγan yeke ösiyen-ü tustu nadur qan čola daγuri-sqabası. tegün-ü qoyına yaγun-u siltaγa-bar dayılamu bi. iŋaγur-un şang minu. fuşun-şuo qotan-u tabun jaγun dayidu kai-yuwan qotan-u mingγan dayidu-yi čerig-üd-tür minu öggüdkün. . ."⁴²—"The words sent in that letter: if the emperor of the Great Ming, blaming the officials of Liaotung and recalling his troops who have crossed the Wall and stayed to protect the people of Yekege, approves me and in the face of (my) seven big grievances declares me *γan*, thereafter for what reason should I make war! My original treasure, the 500 *dayidu* of the town Fu-shun-so, and the 1000 *dayidu* of the town of K'ai-yuan, give (them) to my troops. . ." This last sentence is a little clearer in the Chinese version which reads: "Furthermore give to my troops my yearly treasures and the 5000 *ch'ih-shu* which I originally had in Fu-shun-so together with the 1000 *chih-shu* which I had in K'ai-yüan. . .then will the troops be stopped."⁴³

From these texts it becomes clear that there existed two kinds of *dayidu*-patents (*ch'ih-shu*): one sort, sometimes called *great dayidu*, was the diploma whereby an honorary rank was granted by the Ming to the recipient. The

other type of *dayidu*-patent was an instrument for the reception of goods, probably mostly in the form of money, silks, and cloth, and other commodities difficult to come by outside of the Ming empire. One person could possess a large number of those *dayidu*, and he in turn could turn them over as a reward to his relatives, or favorite officers and servants. We are even told that T'ai-tsu of the Manchus gave them as a marriage present to a chieftain who married his niece. In order to receive the goods connected with the *dayidu*, these patents or "checks" had to be presented to Chinese officials at predetermined places. One person might possess a number of checks to be presented at several border towns, or even at Peking. Thus we are told that T'ai-tsu had "500 patents to be presented at Fu-shun and one thousand at K'ai-yüan."

Prof. Wada Sei 和田清 who has already in a general way correctly described the nature of the *dayidu*~*ch'ih-shu*, says that "an imperial permit is a license for paying tribute and for trade."⁴⁴ However, this definition calls for a little clarification and a slight correction. From the general Ming practice in their dealings with northern peoples, Jürčed as well as Mongols, it is clear that it was the same men who had been granted *dayidu*, had the right to present the tribute, and who bartered furs or cattle against Chinese goods. But the *dayidu* were directly connected with the tribute and only indirectly with markets. If we look closely at the third passage quoted from the *Man-chou shih-lu*, we see that T'ai-tsu every year: 1. sent envoys to take delivery of goods and wares granted to possessors of *dayidu*, and 2. that he sent native products to four Chinese towns in Liaotung to exchange them against Chinese goods. Although this passage does not mention the tribute, it will become clear from other texts that the possession of the *dayidu* precisely gave the right to present the tribute to the Ming in return for which Manchu and Mongol chieftains received goods usually far in excess of the value of what they had presented to the Ming.⁴⁵ The difference in the viewpoints of the Chinese and the native tribes on the tribute seems to be reflected in the expressions used on the one hand by the Ming sources which regularly state "they came to present the tribute," and on the other hand by the *Man-chou shih-lu* which says "T'ai-tsu received the goods and wares connected with the *dayidu*." But it should be repeated that generally speaking it was the same persons who received gifts for their *dayidu* and who had the right to trade at the borders which was another source of wealth and prestige.

Ch'ih-shu, or *ch'ih* for short, means "imperial letter, rescript." "imperial order." Any imperial writing or instruction to a Chinese official as well as to a non-Chinese dignitary was called *ch'ih*, but, of course, not every one

was a *dayidu* in the narrow sense of the word as used in the foregoing pages. Although the term *ch'ih* or *ch'ih-shu* is a little ambiguous there are enough cases where it is clearly used in the sense of "permit," or "check" for tribute rewards and other gifts.

Ch'ü Chiu-ssu, who relates many episodes of the struggle between Nurhaci and his rivals, has this illuminating text: "Originally the (people of the) Two Barriers [i. e. 北關 and 南關] are all descendant tribes of the Hai-hsi 海西 (tribes of the early Ming period); at the beginning of the Dynasty the (Ming) had recognized them as dependent barbarians and had granted to them a total number of 999 *ch'ih-shu*: to the Southern Barrier a total of 699, and to the Northern Barrier a total of 300 *ch'ih-shu*. Every *ch'ih-shu* gave right to present one horse as tribute."⁴⁶ This passage proves the direct connection between the possession of *ch'ih-shu* or *dayidu* and the presentation of the tribute, and as Ch'ü's narrative clearly shows, the possession itself of the patents granted by the Chinese throughout the Ming period was an important factor in the endless power struggle between the various native chieftains. If the opportunity presented itself, a powerful chieftain would demand new patents from the Ming which meant new wealth of himself and enhanced his prestige among the other chieftains. As changes occurred in the respective power positions of the various chiefs, patents also changed hands. The weaker tribal leaders had to give up their patents, or part of them, to the stronger ones. But the Ming, it seems, tried to maintain at least some measure of control over the distribution of the patents among the chieftains. Thus, according to Ch'ü Chiu-ssu, around 1590, a Ming official redistributed the aforementioned 999 patents of the Two Barriers, assigning 500 to the Southern leaders and 499 to the Northern chieftains.

We have seen how according to the Mongol chronicle *Altan tobči*, the Yung-lo emperor granted 1600 (only 600 according to the 1655 *Altan tobči*. Cf. n. 28) *dayidu* to the Jürčed. The passages just quoted both from the *Man-chou shih-lu* and the *Wan-li wu-kung lu* are equally clear about the large number of *dayidu* in circulation among the northeastern tribes. Speaking of the *dayidu* granted to the Mongols during the first half of the 15th century, the *Altan-tobči* says that the Six-Thousand Üčiyed on two occasions received three hundred *dayidu*.

But the number of *dayidu* in the hands of the native chieftains or princes varied greatly according to places and from one period to another. Indeed there is a big contrast between the large numbers of *dayidu* in circulation among the Jürčed in the northeast during the second half of the 16th century and the limited numbers of *dayidu* referred to in connection with the

Mongols during the same period. If according to the narrative of the *Altan tobči*, the Üčiyed on two different occasions received three hundred *dayidu*, these are never mentioned in the *Ming shih-lu* or other Ming sources. So far as I know, except for one case of 1551 to be discussed below, the *Ming shih-lu* mentions no *dayidu*, or *ch'ih-shu*, for the Mongols before 1573. The *Wan-li wu-kung lu*, except for the same case of 1551, never mentions grants of *ch'ih-shu* until 1571. The *dayidu* or *ch'ih-shu* referred to in the *Ming shih-lu* from 1573 on are never granted more than one at a time as we shall see in a moment. *Ch'ih-shu* granted to the Jürčed and Manchu tribes during the 15th and 16th centuries are often mentioned in the *Shih-lu*, but figures are extremely rare. It will be remembered that the figures for the Manchu tribes quoted above come from other works than the *Ming shih-lu*. We may presume that in the beginning the Ming granted them no more than one or a few *ch'ih-shu* at a time, and if we notice that later the Jürčed and Manchu tribes possessed a large number of them, this must be due either to the fact that the Ming gradually felt obliged to grant more of them, or to the fact that the native chieftains and princes carefully preserved and amassed them. Most probably both factors concurred.

From the information available it seems to me that, at least in the north-eastern parts, with the ever growing number of *dayidu* in circulation, their value became depressed; inflation set in and as the total number increased each single *dayidu* gave right to ever decreasing profits, with the result that the chieftains tried to obtain more *ch'ih-shu* from the Chinese. What Ch'ü says that one *ch'ih-shu* or *dayidu* gave the right to present the tribute of one horse, or in other words that one *dayidu* represented the profits to be derived from the tribute of one horse, may have been true at one time, or in one place, but was certainly not true all the time and everywhere; it was not true for the Mongols nor was it uniformly true in Jürčed territory as we shall see.

As has been noted in the foregoing lines, it is only from 1573 on that *ch'ih-shu* or *dayidu* granted to the Mongols are ever mentioned in the *Ming shih-lu*. The main reason simply is that except for very rare and brief periods (e. g. 1550-1551) the Mongols were constantly at war with the Ming and even if at times the Mongols expressed their eagerness to present the tribute and to open peaceful commercial relations with China, the latter did not trust them and never allowed such relations. An exception in this respect are the three Mongol "tribes" or groups, known in Ming sources as To-yen 朵顏 (=Dö'en), T'ai-ning 泰寧, and Fu-yü. But if these three groups were recognized vassals of the Ming and were granted *dayidu* for the purposes indicated above, there is no indication that they ever possessed *dayidu* in any large amounts.

According to the *Altan tobci* both the Yung-lo and the Ching-t'ai emperors rewarded the Üciyed with a large amount of *dayidu*. There is no confirmation in Chinese sources of these grants. We do not even know why the Yung-lo emperor rewarded the Üciyed. And granted the historicity of these rewards, contrary to the practice of the Yung-lo and Ching-t'ai emperors in their relations with the Üciyed in Mongolia, and contrary to the practice of the Wan-li emperor in his dealings with the northeastern tribes, when the Ming in 1570-1571 finally decided to recognize the Mongols as vassals and grant them tribute and trade privileges, they gave them *dayidu* or *ch'ih-shu* in surprisingly small numbers. When Altan-qan and some sixty princes presented their first tribute of 500 horses, they possessed in all only twelve *ch'ih-shu*. The *Ming shih-lu* which mentions this first tribute has nothing about the twelve *ch'ih-shu*. But the *Wan-li wu-kung lu* mentions them.⁴⁷ It would seem that these 12 *dayidu* were held collectively by all the sixty-odd princes involved, all of whom incidentally were relatives of Altan-qan who was by far the most powerful prince in southern Mongolia. It also follows that one *dayidu* gave the right to present a relatively large number of horses, not just one as in the case of the Jürced tribes, and receive appropriate presents in return.

We have already referred to the brief period of peace of 1550-1551 between Altan-qan and Ming. For a few months there existed tribute and trade relations and on this occasion, too, Altan-qan was granted one *dayidu*. The formulations in the *Ming shih-lu*⁴⁸ 總降勅一道 and in the *Wan-li wu-kung lu*⁴⁹ 公賜勅書一道 compared with what we know already about the twelve *dayidu* of 1571 leave no doubt that the 1551 *dayidu* was a collective one.

We find more evidence of such collective *dayidu* later on. In 1580, 1607, and 1609, several groups of Mongol chieftains were granted one *dayidu* per group.⁵⁰ And I have found at least one indication that collective patents or *dayidu* existed also in the northeast. In a list of regulations for the jürced from 1533, next to the last item concerns *tsung-ch'ih* 總勅. However, this is not a collective patent for the presentation of the tribute, but a collective patent of appointment (cf. above *yake dayidu*, *ta ch'ih-shu*), and the regulation in question prescribes that if the barbarians present such a collective patent and, with a view to inheriting their fathers' ranks, they desire to be granted individual patents, these must be issued.⁵¹

If the first patents granted to the Mongols in 1571 were held collectively, the principle of personal patents was also adopted very soon. These were mostly rewards granted to one particular prince for distinguished services, often for patrolling and maintaining peace and order on the border markets.⁵²

Most of the time no special reason is indicated. Many cases are listed in the *Shih-lu*, and what is important for us here; whenever the number of *dayidu* is indicated, it is never more than one per person. It should be borne in mind that this happened in the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century when the Ming allowed those large numbers of *dayidu* to be in the hands of the northeastern chieftains. We may also repeat that during this same period, when *dayidu* were granted to the Mongol princes of To-yen (Dö'en), T'ai-ning, and Fu-yü, it never was more than one piece per person, the same as with Altan-qan and his relatives.

The Ming always tried to limit the volume of tribute which one particular prince, or group of princes, was entitled to present. We have seen that in the northeast towards the end of the dynasty, one *ch'ih-shu* gave the right to the presentation of one horse. When 1570 and 1571 relations between Chinese and Mongols became regularized, we nowhere find an indication that Altan-qan's twelve *ch'ih-shu* had a direct bearing on the number of horses he and his relatives might present. The fact, however, is that before the total figure of his tribute was fixed at 500 horses, many Chinese officials considered this figure much too high and wanted it revised downward. A few months later when the Mongol princes from Ordos were also given the same rights as Altan-qan, some officials tried to have the Ordos tribute included in the figure already allocated to Altan-qan. In the end the Ordos were granted a separate quota of 200 horses. And when the Ordos were officially recognized as tribute-bearing vassals (July, 1571), the *Shih-lu* only notes that in addition to various presents they were granted *ch'ih*, but no figure is indicated, which probably means that they received one *ch'ih* for the whole group.⁵³

The tribute presented by non-Chinese tribes always bore many characteristics of trade. But during the Ming period, apart from the presentation of the tribute itself, there existed also a more formal variety of trade. For practically the whole duration of the Ming dynasty, the northeastern tribes had the opportunity at fixed periods of the year and at predetermined points along the border to exchange native products against Chinese commodities and manufactured goods. In the beginning there were only the "horse markets" of Kuang-ning 廣寧 and K'ai-yüan, but in due time more places became the scene of Sino-Jürčed trade, as we can gather from the *Man-chou shih-lu* and other works. In 1551, the Mongols under Altan-qan obtained their border markets also, although these functioned only once; and again in 1571, a number of markets were organized along the borders and as time went on the number of markets was allowed to grow. But before 1550 there were a few periods during which the Mongols presented the tribute without having those

trading opportunities in border markets. During those periods, too, regular trade accompanied the tribute system with this difference that trade was carried out by traders and merchants going to the capital together with the tribute envoys. In the case of the Mongols we see this most clearly in the Oyirad-Chinese relations both before and after the invasion of 1449 and the subsequent return to China of the captive Ming emperor.

The *Ming shih-lu* records many Mongol, especially Oyirad (Western Mongol) embassies during the first half of the 15th century, particularly immediately before and after the 1449 invasion. Those tribute missions followed each other very fast and at the same time grew larger and larger in size so that one single embassy could count up to 3000 persons and even more. It is obvious that all those people were not envoys. The official envoys were no more than a few men; the rest were traders who brought their wares and tried to sell them or barter them in Chinese towns or in Peking. Here again the Ming tried very hard to limit the number of persons entitled to accompany the tribute envoys. This is not the place to go into all the details of this trade. What interests us here is that those traders needed papers or passports to enter the country.⁵⁴ Let us only refer for the moment to such narratives as that regarding the embassy of Shah Rukh (1419-1423)⁵⁵ in which we read about the large numbers of traders traveling in the company of the official envoys, and the pains which the Chinese border officials took to check both numbers and identity of the traders. Whether the Chinese were more successful with the embassies from Samarkand than with the Oyirad embassies, I cannot say. At any rate it does not appear that the Chinese were very successful in controlling and limiting the flow of merchants coming with the Oyirad embassies. We may mention one interesting example. Early in 1449, we read that *registers* made up by Chinese border officials describing the composition of an embassy, put its total figure at 3598 men. Later, however, this embassy was found to comprise: envoys from Toytô-buqa: 414 (instead of 471 as first announced); envoys from Esen tayisi: 1358 (instead of 2257); Mohammedan traders: 752 (instead of 850)! These figures suggest that the ambassadors tried to report higher numbers than people actually present, and probably that Chinese officials easily cooperated in order to share in the profits. If this 1449 embassy officially comprised 753 Mohammedan traders, probably from Central Asia or even farther west, it is certain that there were many more traders among the 471 and 1358 "envoys."⁵⁶

The Ming repeatedly felt it necessary to warn the Oyirad princes to reduce the size of their embassies. On one particular occasion in 1453, the emperor wrote to Esen tayisi that two of his embassies, each numbering over 3000 men, had been detained on the border precisely because the officials felt

that they were too large, and only on a personal intervention of the emperor had they been allowed to proceed and enter China. The emperor further urged Esen tayisi from now on to send small embassies, and he added that papers for the total number permissible would be issued to him as credentials: 與總數文書爲憑.⁵⁷ What we have here is, of course, not a *dayidu* entitling the bearers to the presentation of a certain tribute and reception of presents in return, but a passport allowing a certain number of persons to enter China and exchange their native goods against Chinese commodities; not, however, in established border markets but in towns along the road and in Peking. Yet it is beyond doubt that there existed a close relationship between the *dayidu* (*ch'ih-shu*, or *chih*) and the traders' credentials or passports.

Such passports were needed to leave the country as well as to enter it. In 1406, as astrologers had discovered ominous signs regarding the borders, the emperor wrote to the authorities of Liaotung to have all *yu-pao wen-shu* 御寶文書 "documents with the imperial seal" and *chu-ssu wen-i* 諸司文移 "papers emanating from various governmental offices" examined, and special care was to be taken on the borders.⁵⁸ In 1413, the emperor sent another similar rescript to Liaotung: "Without *yu-pao wen-shu* 'documents with the imperial seal' nobody is allowed to leave the country; even our personal word without document is not enough. Traveling merchants and business men (公幹) who have documents are permitted (to leave)."⁵⁹ Again in 1418, the emperor told the President of the Board of War: "Lately troops stationed along the border in Liaotung have crossed the border in order to buy horses and have caused trouble to the barbarians; this must be forbidden and stopped. From now on, any one crossing the border illegally without holding a *ch'ao-t'ing wen-shu* 朝廷文書 'document emanating from the government' shall be severely punished . . . ; but Wild Jürčed 女直野人 and Tatars 韃靼 established in such towns as An-lo 安樂 and Tzu-tsai 自在⁶⁰ who desire to cross the border to trade are not to be stopped on account of this regulation."⁶¹ Finally we may mention that the credentials which Mongols as well as Jürčed needed to enter the country are sometimes called with this general term *wen-shu*. On such a *wen-shu* was the imprint of the seal sent by the Ming to the chieftains in question.⁶² And in this connection we may also add that not only such documents as *dayidu*, etc., but the seal of the chieftain, too, often became the object of struggle and violence.

It is not clear at what time the Ming government began to grant *dayidu* for the specific purpose of presenting the tribute. Yet we know that diplomas conferring a rank or a title upon a non-Chinese chieftain (called *ta ch'ih-shu* in the *Man-chou shih-lu*; *yeke dayidu* in Mongol) were granted very

early in the Ming period, although in the *Ming shih-lu* such documents are referred to under different names. When three Oyrat noblemen were granted the title of *wang*, prince, in 1409, the Ming sent them *kao-yin* 誥印 "diplomas and seals,"⁶³ and when Aruγtai, a prince of the Asud living in modern Čaqar (Chahar) territory, was made prince of Ho-ning 和寧 ([Qara-] qorum) in 1413, the emperor sent him a *kao-ming* 誥命.⁶⁴ The same expression is used for a Mongol by the name of Batu-temür who in 1405 had surrendered to the Ming and had crossed into Kansu province where he settled down with his people. In 1422, Batu-temür who by this time was better known under the name Wu Yün-ch'eng 吳允誠, was given a title of nobility, *Kung-shun po* 恭順伯 "Respectful and Obedient Count," and received a *kao-ming*, i.e. a diploma of appointment.⁶⁵

The expressions *kao-yin* and *kao-ming* are also used in countless passages of the *Ming shih-lu* relating the appointments of Jürčed chieftains, but *ch'ih-shu* also frequently appears with the same meaning. No clear distinction is ever maintained between a *ch'ih-shu* of appointment and the numerous *ch'ih-shu* necessary for the presentation of the tribute and for trade.

Since it is the *ch'ih-shu* granted to the Jürčed that are mentioned most frequently it is also about the use of them by the Jürčed that the best information is available. From the various passages concerning *ch'ih-shu* given as reward to the Jürčed we learn that the names of the legitimate owners were written on those documents, but since they were regularly stolen, given away, sold, inherited, etc., the result was a considerable amount of confusion. For example, some chieftains came to court with papers originally belonging to someone else, and pretended to be the men whose names appeared on the document.⁶⁶ Some embassies from the northeast comprised Chinese living with the Jürčed and who had borrowed the *ch'ih-shu* belonging to the chieftain; or at least officials suspected them to be Chinese.⁶⁷ In 1479, we come across a statement to the effect that some embassies were much larger than their documents allowed, which would seem to mean that many members of the embassies in question carried no papers at all. This statement is followed by a warning to the *Hui-t'ung kuan* 會同館 not to give any presents or rewards to persons not entitled to be there.⁶⁸ Documents are repeatedly found to have been tampered with and changed.⁶⁹

With the frequent cases of stealing, losing, selling, borrowing, etc., if the *ch'ih-shu* were originally supposed to bear the names of the rightful owners, this may have become the exception rather than the rule. A regulation from 1522 states that many Jürčed carried patents made out originally to their grandfathers or fathers and must be corrected so that the names of

the present owners appear on them.⁷⁰ In 1606, twenty-five chieftains requested to be appointed to the ranks previously held by their fathers or grandfathers and turned in the original *ch'ih-shu*,⁷¹ yet we are continually reminded of the fact that many patents were old and ought to be turned in and renewed.⁷² Some 363 patents stolen by Nurhaci from another chieftain were more than 200 years old (1614).⁷³

Patents stolen, or lost through fire or water, according to a regulation of 1533, could be replaced after proper investigation.⁷⁴ In 1552, we come across a case of a number of chieftains who had raised their ranks appearing on the patents in the hope of receiving a larger amount of goods. This, we are told, had escaped detection through negligence of border officials,⁷⁵ and in 1555, we meet with a case of complete forgery.⁷⁶

We do not intend to give here more than a broad outline of the uses and abuses of the *ch'ih-shu* granted to the Jürčed. We need not go into all the details, yet we may be sure that the same abuses tended to occur in other places, too. Let us only add that the same expression *ch'ih-shu* is used with regard to rewards granted to Chinese soldiers. For example, in 1513, when Chinese troops of Shensi had claimed a victory over the Mongols, officers and men were rewarded with a total of 38 *ch'ih-shu* and in addition 32 men were promoted to higher ranks. Later, however, the victory report turned out to be false: the *ch'ih-shu* were withdrawn and the promotions made void.⁷⁷

The last development of the meaning of the word *dayidu* to be discussed is the use of the term as a clan name among the Mongols. In "Les Noms de Clan chez les Ordos,"⁷⁸ Rev. Ant. Mostaert, c.i.e.m. listed the name *dādu* (<*dayidu*) as one of the clans of Ordos, and following Sa-ang-sečen's statement in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* he explains it as a title. The same author also refers to the passages which we have already quoted from the *Altan tobči*. Before the publication of the trilingual edition of the *Man-chou shih-lu* one could not possibly know that *dayidu* first indicated a patent granted by the emperor and only secondarily a "title," or rather a clan name. There is no doubt that the clan name originated from the fact that some Mongols had *dayidu*-patents in their possession. Since the *dayidu* were imperial rewards and prized possessions, it was an honor to have them. The very origin of the *dayidu* makes it quite clear why Sa-ang-sečen calls them *sira* - yellow, i.e. imperial. But why this celebrated chronicler who was born in 1604 and completed his famous chronicle in 1662, calls *dayidu* a title is harder to understand. We have seen that after 1600 the Ming were still granting *dayidu* to the Mongols, although in very limited numbers. Sa-ang-sečen being a member of the Ordos

nobility, it is hardly possible that he should never have seen one or at least heard of their origin and use. I believe that when Saγang-sečen says that the Mongols who returned the Chinese emperor were rewarded with an "imperial title," he does not mistake the *dayidu*-patent for a title; but he is referring directly to the clan name which originated with the *dayidu*-patents granted on this occasion, and he calls the clan name an "imperial name" because the origin of the clan was an imperial grant, and it still was a distinction among the Mongols to belong to that clan *Dayidu*.

Let us go back for a moment to our second passage quoted from the *Altan tobči*: "The Six-Thousand Üčiyed of the south side (of the mountains) bringing (the captive emperor) gave him back and received *dayidu*. Three hundred *dayidu* (received for) giving their strength to the Yung-lo emperor, and three hundred *dayidu* (received for) giving their strength to the Ching-t'ai [read: Cheng-t'ung] emperor, these are the Six-Hundred *Dayidu* of the south side (of the mountains)." In both the *Altan tobči* (anonymus) and the 1655 *Altan tobči*, the text goes on with the following words: "Jarim-ud Jingtai qayan-i mongγol kürgeü aru-bar γurban jaγun dayidu γarγaba.. mongγol über jaγura-ban eye ebderegsen-ü tula saγataiu ese abuba. ölke-yin jirγuyan mingγan üčiyed ulus aru-yin γurban jaγun dayidu-yi nekeü abubai gekü." — "Some say that when the Mongols brought the Ching-t'ai [read: Cheng-t'ung] emperor, (the Ming) afterwards⁷⁹ issued 300 *dayidu*; (but) because harmony had been destroyed among the Mongols themselves, they were prevented [lit. delayed] and did not take (delivery of the 300 *dayidu*). The Six-Thousand Üčiyed people of the south side (of the mountains) pursued and took the *Three Hundred Dayidu of the north side* (of the mountains)."⁸⁰

This text is far from clear and is probably corrupt. It is not certain, though, that the text will become quite a bit clearer if we take it not as a narrative of the origin of a number of patents, but as an attempt to explain the origin of the name of one or two clans: γurban jaγun dayidu: Three-Hundred *Dayidu*, and jirγuyan jaγun dayidu: Six-Hundred *Dayidu*.

Let us first remind the reader that numbers in tribal names and clan names are a common phenomenon among the peoples of Central Asia.⁸¹ To list only a few examples of Mongol names of tribes and clans, we find such names as the Eight Čaqar, the Twelve Qalqa, the Five Qalqa, the Twelve Tümed, the Forty Tümen (i.e. the whole Mongol people), the Four Tümen (i.e. the Oyirad part of the Mongol world), the Seven Tümen, the Seven, the Five, the Seventy, the Seventy-Thousand, the Eight (the Naiman), the Five Eight, and in the very passages quoted above, the Six-Thousand Üčiyed, etc. One has but to read the first pages the Secret History (*Yuan-ch'ao pi-*

shih 元朝秘史) to see that the Mongols did not always know the exact origin of their clan names and tried to explain them sometimes with legends or popular etymologies. Historians occasionally repeated such a popular legend in order to explain a name. An excellent example of this practice is the alleged origin of the term *ġirγuγan tümen*: Six Tümen, which after the Yüan came to stand for the Mongol people in general. It was believed that only six tümen, or 60,000 men, had been able to return to Mongolia when the dynasty collapsed and the last Yüan emperor abandoned Ta-tu. This popular explanation is found in a number of Mongol chronicles including the *Altan tobči*, the *Sira tuŋi*, the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, and others.⁸²

The reader will have noticed that in the passages from the *Altan tobči*, the "Six-Thousand Üčiyed of the south side (of the mountains)" are put in opposition to the "Six-Hundred Dayidu of the south side (of the mountains)," and later the "Six-Thousand Üčiyed of the south side (of the mountains)," are contracted against the "Three-Hundred Dayidu of the north side." *North* and *South* here refer to the Yin-shan range running in an east-west direction through southern Mongolia, almost parallel with the Great Wall. A geographical indication would be very unusual as a description of credentials or documents. But a geographical indication accompanying a clan name is quite natural.

Both Saγang-sečen and the author of the *Altan tobči* tell us that the Six-Thousand Üčiyed escorted the emperor on his way back to China and were rewarded with a number of *dayidu*. It follows that it was a part of the people of the Üčiyed who came to form a special group and in due time became a clan of their own, or a sub-clan within the larger unit of the Six-Thousand Üčiyed. Further if I understand the *Altan tobči* correctly, it seems that after living for some time with the Six-Thousand Üčiyed in the plains south of Yin-shan, the Dayidu (or at least part of them: three hundred out of the original six hundred?!) left their habitat and moved to the north side of the mountains where the Üčiyed pursued them in order to bring them back under their control.

The question remains whether the Üčiyed had received three hundred *dayidu* from the Yung-lo emperor and then again three hundred more from the Ching-t'ai emperor; or only three hundred; and consequently whether the original name of the Dayidu clan was Six-Hundred Dayidu, or Three-Hundred Dayidu. It is not impossible that there were two Dayidu clans, one called the Six-Hundred and the other called the Three-Hundred. With the information available we cannot know. Even the author of the *Altan tobči* does not seem to know for certain whether there was only one or two clans and what

the original full name was. He quotes a different opinion according to which one grant of 300 *dayidu* never reached the Mongols which seems to mean that there was only one clan named Three Hundred.

The Six-Thousand Üciyed who were favored by the Ming emperors with those *dayidu* lived somewhere to the north of Shansi province in the area later named after the Twelve Tümed. Whether the origin of the Davidu clan of the Ordos is to be traced to those of Tümed territory part of whom may have migrated to the Ordos in the same way as another section had tried to migrate to the north; or whether the Ordos Dayidu trace their origin to another grant of *dayidu* made directly to the Ordos Mongols, it is impossible to make out. But there is no doubt that "dayidu" of the Ordos is only an abbreviated form of a longer name which in its original form included a number. And when Saγang-sečen wrote his chronicle in 1662, he no longer mentioned any number associated with the name *dayidu* which suggests that in every day speech the number had been dropped and Dayidu alone was considered the complete name of the clan. If Saγang-sečen was no longer certain of the origin of the clan name and its original meaning, at least the memory was still alive among the Ordos that the name Dayidu was connected with an imperial grant and it still was a distinction and an honor to bear that name.

Notes

1. P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo I* (1959), p. 143.
2. *Yüan-shih* 7.16a.
3. W. Heissig, *Die Familien-und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen I* (Asiatische Forschungen 5, 1959), pp. 21, 142. Instead of *gegesütü* I prefer to read *hegesütü* suggested by the Čaqar pronunciation *xegës* "spoke of a wheel."
4. *Hsin Yüan-shih* 121, K'ai-ming ed., p. 6867. 2.
5. Haneda Tôru 羽田亨 and Tamura Jitsuzô 田村實造, *Mindai Mammô shiryô*, *Minjitsuroku-shô*, *Môko hen* (MoKH) 1 明代滿蒙史料明實錄抄. 蒙古篇一. 424; *Yung-lo shih-lu* (YLSL) 87.4b.
6. MoKH 2.130, 189; MoKH 3. 33; *Hsüan-te shih-lu* 43.5b; 63.4b; *Cheng-t'ung shih-lu* (CTSL) 104.3b.
7. MoKH 3. 246, 324; CTSL 184.3b; 192.24b. In the first passage the Ming capital is referred to once as Pei-ching, "Peking," and once as Ta(i)-tu.

8. MoKH 10. 222; *T'ien-chi shih-lu* 63.38a. The same Ta-tu is mentioned in a commentary in the *Meng-ku yüan-liu chien-cheng* 蒙古源流箋證 8.20b, quoted from Ch'en Jen-hsi 陳仁錫, *Pa-pien hui-t'suan* 八編彙纂 (cf. *Ming-shih* 98.18b).
9. *Pei-lu feng-su* 北虜風俗 *Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u* 國學文庫 vol. 29, 1936), p. 70. See my *Genealogical Tables of the Descendants of Dayan-qan* (Central Asiatic Studies 3, 1958), Table IX, p. 135.
10. *Mindai Mammô shiryô*, *Minjitsuroku-shô*, *Manshû hen* (MaSH) 1. 256; YLSL 79.6b.
11. MaSH 2. 354, 398; *T'ien-shun shih-lu* (TSSL) 311.3b4a; 361.3b.
12. *Man-chou shih-lu* (Trilingual: Manchu, Chinese, and Mongol. The Mongol name is: *Manju-yin ünén marad qauli*) 1.99ab. The Chinese transcription *taï* reflects a Mongol reading, not the later Chinese reading *ta*.
13. *Hung-wu shih-lu* 42.7a; MoKH 1. 14.
14. Fr. W. Cleaves, "The 'Fifteen Palace Poems' by K'o Chiu-szu," in HJAS 20 (1957), pp. 420, 441.
15. R. C. Bawden, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobïi* (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, 1955), p. 114.
16. Fr. W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 in Memory of Chang Ying-jui," in HJAS 13 (1950), p. 12.
17. *Hung-wu shih-lu* 74.3a; MoKH 1. 80; *Ming-shih* 327.2a.
18. *Chia-ching shih-lu* (CCSL) 321.2b; MoKH 6. 485.
19. *Wan-li wu-kung lu* (*Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u*, vol. 38, 1936), ch. 7, p. 29.
20. *K'ou-pei san-t'ing chih* 口北三廳志 4.22a. In an Ordos Mongol legend the name of *dāt'ung* (Tai-t'ung) has been substituted for *Dādu* (Tai-tu). See Ant. Mostaert, *Textes oraux ordos* (1937), p. 133; *Folklore ordos* (1947), p. 190; *Dictionnaire ordos*, p. 131b.
21. Cleaves, HJAS 13 (1950), p. 12.
22. We may mention here the names of a few other towns which, after the Mongol custom, became personal names among the *Türöed*. The YLSL 46.1b. MaSH 1. 211, lists one Chao-chou pu-hua (= buqa) 趙州不花. This Chao-chou, I believe, does not refer to Chao-chou, or Chao-hsien, in Hopei province, but to the town in Manchuria first called Ch'ao-chou 肇州 by the Chin. The YLSL 62.10b; 121.5b; 224.3b; MaSH 1. 235, 308, 312, etc. mentions one Wang Ch'ao-chou 王肇舟. Wang, of course, is a Chinese surname: *Türöed* as well as Mongols prefixed Chinese surnames to their personal native names. 舟 is an aberrant reading for 州. Another interesting example is K'ai-yüan-pao 開原保 mentioned in

- the *Hsüan-te shih-lu* 65.9b; MaSH 1. 438. K'ai-yüan is a well known town of the Ming in present day Manchuria. For an explanation of the element *pao* see my paper "Some types of names adopted by the Mongols during the Yüan and early Ming periods," *Monumenta Serica* 17 (1958), pp. 352-360. It is interesting that in a passage of the *Ch'eng-hua shih-lu* 104.1b; MaSH 2. 517, the first character of the same name K'ai-yüan-pao is treated as a surname, Chinese fashion, and Yüan-pao becomes the personal name.
23. I quote this text from Er. Haenisch, *Eine Urga-Handschrift des Mongolischen Geschichtswerks von Secen Sagang (alias Sanang Sezen)*, Berlin 1955, p. 58, 59a. Schmidt's text (*Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, p. 170) is corrupted. See Ant. Moitaert, *Ordosica*, 1934, p. 38. The captured emperor was not Ching-t'ai (Ching-ti, or T'ai-tsung, a mistake made by all Mongol chroniclers) but Cheng-t'ung (Ying-tsung).
 24. *Meng-ku yüan-liu chien-cheng* 5.22b23a.
 25. *Činggis qayan-u čadiγ*, pp. 61, 89-90. C.R. Bawden, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči*, pp. 60, 85, 155-156, 174.
 26. This sentence is lacking in Bawden's translation. This statement by the *Altan tobči* has, of course, no historical basis, but it is an interesting evidence of the Mongol concept that it is the people who suggest or offer a title or a dynastic name to the emperor or the ruler. There are more similar instances in Mongol literature. One example may be found in the *Eideni-yin erike* (A. M. Pozdneev, *Mongol'skaya letopis'* "Erdeniin erixe," St Pb. 1883, p. 23). Here the K'ang-hsi emperor is requested by Tüsiyetü qan and Sečan qan of the Qalqa to accept a title. The emperor refused (1687).
 27. Kobayashi Takashirō 小林高四郎, *Arutan topuchi, Mōko nendaiki* 蒙古年代記 (1939), pp. 49, 73, identifies the Üriyed with the Wo-cho 我着 and with the Fu-yü 福餘, but this identification is untenable. Apart from phonetic considerations, from contemporary Chinese sources it is certain that the captive emperor never left the southern rim of the Mongol plateau and cannot have had anything to do with tribes so far to the northeast. Kobayashi translates *dayidu* with 大都, and refers to Galsan Gomboev's translation (*Altan tobči, Mongol'skaya letopis'*, *Trudy vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arxeologicheskogo obščestva*, vol. 6, St Pb. 1858). Gomboev correctly guessed the origin of *dayidu*, but did not understand why the name of the capital should appear in this text.
 28. These two texts appear in almost identical form in the *Altan tobči* by bLo-bzan bTan-'jin (1655) (*Altan tobči, A brief History of the Mongols*, *Scripta Mongolica* I, 1952) II, pp. 125, 150. As there exists a strong probability that the *Altan tobči* anonymus included in the *Činggis qaran-u*

čadir is later than and depends on bLo-bzan bšTan-'jin's *Altan tobči* (Cf. Heissig, *Familien-und Kirchengeschichts=schreibung* I, pp. 50 sq.) we may add that in the passage concerning the Yung-lo empeaor, the 1655 *Altan tobči* reads: "... üčiyed ulus-tu ɣuaban ǰayun *dayidu sang* soyurqaba; ǰürčid ulus-tu ǰiryuyan ǰayun *dayidu sang* soyurqabai" -- "... granted 300 *dayidu* (and) *treasures* to the ... Üčiyed; to the ǰürčid people he granted 300 *dayidu* (and) *treasures*" II, p. 126; and in the second passage concerning Chengt'ung's return, in between the lines and alongside *dayidu* is twice added the word *sang*.

29. Bawden, *Altan tobči*, p. 156, has already referred to this important work and explained *dayidu* as "patent or diploma giving the right to presents."
30. Irregular spelling by some eastern Mongols for *uriu*.
31. *Manju-yin ünən maɣad qauli* 1.47a-48a. Chinese translation on pp. 48ab.
32. Lit. "goods and wares of the *dayidu*." In Chinese: "Under the pretext of granting *chih-shu*."
33. Kuan-wang is Kuan Yü, or Kuan-ti. The identification of the Mongol legendary figure Geser with the Chinese hero Kuan-ti is older than the 18th century. Many places have - or had - temples known as Temple of Kuan - ti in Chinese and Temple of Geser - qayan in Mongol. The literature on Geser is abundant. For example see W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache* (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen) 1954, pp. 148-149.
34. *Manju-yin ünən maɣad qauli* 1.49b-50a. The same text is repeated on p. 58b. The Chinese version is on p. 57a, and is repeated on pp. 57b-58a. According to Ch'eng Ling-ming 程令名 (*Tung-i Nu-erh-ha-ch'ih k'ao* 東夷奴兒哈赤考, in *Ch'ou-Liao shih-hua* 籌遼碩畫, p. 2ab) there were only twenty *dayidu* and twenty horses involved.
35. The same passage appears once more in 2.58ab, where in the Mongol text the word *yeke* "great" is omitted. In the sentence immediately following, however, we find the expression *Lung-qu ǰiyanggiyün čola-tu yeke dayidu*, in Chinese (56a) 龍虎將軍大勅一道; and in Manchu: *amba ejehe* "great patent — *dayidu* conferring the rank of Lung-hu Chiang-chün." In Manchu *amba* means "great" and *ejehe*: "Kaiserliche bestallung für erbliche Beamte und in Sonderaufträgen entsandte Würdenträger," Er. Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Manschu Sprache*, 1952.
36. *Manju-yin ünən maɣad qauli* 2.39b-40b.
37. Lit. "good of 500 *dayidu*." In Chinese: "Hongkong 500 *chih-shu*, received the yearly (grant of) gold and silks."

38. *beye-degen emüscü bürün* "putting (clothes) on their persons" has no counterpart in the Chinese version. This sentence must be due to an inadvertence of the Mongol translators. The Manchus could not possibly put on those furs destined for trade with the Chinese. The Chinese version reads: "products of their own land, there were... (follows the list of products); 以備國用...: in order to provide for state expenses (they exchanged...)"
39. In Mongol "gates."
40. These words have no corresponding equivalent in the Chinese text.
41. *Manju-hin ünén ma, ad qauli* 2.108a.
42. *Op. cit.* 5.22ab.
43. The last few words "then will the troops be stopped" appear twice in the Chinese text: once in the middle of the passage corresponding to "Why should I make war?" of the Mongol, and once here at the end of the whole sentence. Here is a remark by Matthew Ricci (利瑪竇) on the tribute: "I have observed, however, that today very few of these countries are paying the stipulated tribute. Indeed, those who do continue to pay it, when they come into the country to fulfill their obligation, carry away with them from China more money than they bring in as tribute, so that the Chinese authorities have become quite indifferent as to whether or not the tribute is ever paid." L.J. Gallagher, s. j., *China the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583-1610* (1953) p.9.
44. "Some Problems concerning the Rise of T'ai-tsu, the Founder of Manchu Dynasty," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Banko*, No. 16, 1957, p. 37.
45. For a brief but illuminating survey of those gifts in return for tribute see David M. Farquhar, "Oirat-Chinese Tribute Relations, 1408-1446," *Studia Altaica*, 1957, pp. 60-71, 63-64.
46. *Wan-li wu-kung lu*, ch. 11, p. 21 (*Kuo-hsueh wen-k'u*, vol. 20).
47. *Op. cit.*, ch. 8, p. 137.
48. MoKH 6.680; CCSL 373.3br
49. *Wan-li wu-kung lu*, ch. 7, p. 67.
50. MoKH 8. 419; MoKH 9. 492, 539; *Wan-li shih-lu* (WLSL) 103.4a; 432.5a; 456.4a.
51. MaSH 3. 365; CCSL 148.2a-3a.
52. For example in 1573, 1576, 1580: MoKH 8. 173, 226, 406; WLSL 17.10b; 47.6b; 95.2a.
53. MoKH 8. 23; *Lung-ch'ing shih-lu* 53.60a.

54. Those passports are also mentioned in the *Ming-shih* 81, section on the Southern Tribute 市舶. See also Uchida Maosaku 内田直作 (trsl. Wang Huai-chung 王懷中) "Ming-tai ti ch'ao-kung mao-i chih-tu" 明代的朝貢貿易制度 in *Shih-huo* 食貨 3, 1 (1935), p.32b.
55. For a report on Shah Rukh's embassy to China see E. Quatremere's translation in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits* 14 (1843), Pt.1, pp. 387 sq., and an English translation from Quataemere's by H. Yule in *Cathay and the Way thither*, 1866, cxcix sq. A Dutch translation of the same report, though less satisfactory according to modern standards, appeared already in Nic. Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartaryen*, Amsterdam, 1785, pp. 435-452.
56. MoKH 3. 196-197; CTSL 173.4ab.
57. MoKH 3. 469; CTSL (Ching-t'ai 43) 225.18b.
58. MaSH 1. 203; YLSL 40.13b14a.
59. MaSH 1. 267; YLSL 89.9b.
60. For Jürčed, etc. established in Chinese towns in Liaotung see my *Sino-Jürčed Relations during the Yung-lo Period* (1955), p. 63, and "Were the Ming against the Mongols' settling in North China?" in *Oriens Extremus* 0000
61. MaSH 1. 298; YLSL 111.6a.
62. For examples from Kansu (1436: a forgery), and Liaotung (1437, 1438, 1471) see MoKH 2. 406, 407; MaSH 2. 41, 42, 53, 511; CTSL 18.4ab; 6b; 35.8b; 43.7b8a; *Ch'eng-hua shih-lu* (CHSL) 96.2a.
63. MoKH 1. 346, 347; YLSL 63.16a; 64.6a.
64. MoKH 1. 413; YLSL 81.1a.
65. MoKH 1. 413; YLSL 81.3a. See also my forthcoming paper "Mongols ennobled during the Ming Dynasty," in HJAS 22. No such diplomas are mentioned when Esen tayisi of the Oyrad was allowed to call himself Prince of Huai 淮 and *qa-qan* 可汗 in 1454 (MoKH 3. 497; CTSL 238.1ab) and when Altan-qan was granted the title of Shun-i wang 順義王 in 1571 (MoKH 8. 14-15; *Lung-ch'ing shih-lu* 55.33a). There is no doubt, however, that the Ming sent a diploma at least to Altan-qan. Although this diploma is never spoken of, his seal is mentioned from time to time.
66. MaSH 2. 545 (1477); MaSH 3. 40 (1494), 401 (1540); CHSL 160.4a; *Hung-chih shih-lu* 86.4b; CCSL 235.5b6a.
67. MaSH 2. 600 (1479); MaSH 3. 238 (1513), 334-335 (1525); 587 (1572); CHSL 191.3a; *Cheng-te shih-lu* 100.6b; CCSL 51.2b; *Lung-ch'ing shih-lu* 64.6a.

68. MaSH 2. 592; CHSL 185.5a. c
69. MaSH 3. 272 (1517), 307 (1522), 310 (1522), 364 (1533); *Cheng-te shih-lu* 150.3b; CCSL 10.16a; 12.3b4a; 148.2a-3a.
70. MaSH 3. 310; CCSL 12.3b4a.
71. MaSH 4. 289, 299 (1607); WLSL 432.5a. In 1515, when the Mongol prince of Dö'en requested to succeed his father without presentation of the original diploma which had been lost, his request was granted but not without opposition by some officials. MoKH 5. 406; *Cheng-te shih-lu* 124.7b. This seems to have been rather an exceptional case.
72. MaSH 3. 364; CCSL 148. 2a-3a.
73. MaSH 4. 451.
74. MaSH 3. 364; CCSL 148.2a-3a.
75. MaSH 3. 462; CCSL 389.7b. See also MaSH 3. 272; *Cheng-te shih-lu* 150.3b.
76. MaSH 3. 472; CCSL 433.1a.
77. MoKH 5. 337-338; *Cheng-te shih-lu* 94.6a.
78. *Ordosica* 1934, pp. 21-54, and *Dictionnaire ordos*, p. 131a, where besides the clan name *dayidu* is listed the place name *dāduxā* of the same origin. It is not clear, however, whether *dāduxā* < *dayiduqai* is immediately derived from the name of the Yüan capital, or from the clan name *dayidu*.
79. Kobayashi (*op. cit.*, p. 73) translates "on the north side," and Bawden, "by the north side," but *aru-bar* no doubt here means "afterwards." Cf. Ant. Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p. 30b: *arār*: par le côté postérieur, après.
80. *Altan tobči* (*Čadič*, p. 90), Aawden, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 174. *Altan tobči*, *Scripta Mongolica II*, II, p. 150. Bawden's translation differs somewhat from mine, which is due to the corrupt condition of the text. Bawden makes the remark that the passage is not entirely clear to him.
81. K. A. Wittfogel-Feng Chia-sheng, *History of Chinese Society, Liao* (907-1125), (1949), p. 48b.
82. See my "The Mongols in China during the Huang-wu period," in *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 11, 1959, pp. 48-50.

Strategic Areas In China

By Chang Chi-yun (張其昀)

In this essay I shall make a study of the geography and topographical features of China in their relations to other neighboring countries and shall attempt to divide the country into a number of strategic areas with a view to facilitating the mobilization of human and material resources in the event of an emergency. In each of these areas I shall mark out localities suitable for stationing troops or serving as bases of operation. These bases are of two kinds. One of them possesses only strategic value and may be called military base. The other may aptly be called national defense center, as it is a city of political, economical, and communication importance in addition to its military value. The military planning of a country calls for mapping out military districts and the building of fortified areas. During the dynasties, whether it was Han, or Tang, or Ming, or Ching, the governors of the provinces were generally quartered in national defense centers. Shortly after the establishment of the Republic of China, there was much talk about dividing the country into military districts; but owing to the unrest of the country no concrete step was taken. While the government and people are working for the recovery of the Chinese mainland, we should make a study of the nation's geography with this object in view. From my study of the Chinese history and geography, I propose to divide the country into twenty strategic areas, as follows: I. North of the Great Wall, II. Yellow River Bend (河套), III. West of the Yellow River, IV. Western Territory, V. Yellow River and Lung Mountains (河隴), VI. Kwanchung (關中). VII. Chinling (秦嶺), VIII. Szechwan (巴蜀), IX. The Chin Valley (金川區), X. Tibet, XI. Yunnan and Kweichow, XII. Kwangtung and Kwangsi, XIII. Fukien and Chekiang, XIV. The Yangtze and Hwai Valley (江淮區), XV. Middle Yangtze and Lake (荊湖), XVI. Central Plain (中原), XVII. Shantung, XVIII. Hopei and Shansi, XIX. Kwantung, XX. Sungkiang and Heilungkiang (松黑). A study of these areas will contribute to a knowledge of their part in the winning or losing of a war and their relationship to the rising and waning of the national fortune.

I. North of the Great Wall

This area includes vast Mongolia plateau and the steep cliffs of the Yin

Shan (陰山) Range south of the plateau. The Great Wall of the Chin (秦) Dynasty was built on the steep hills of the Yin Shan range. It was considered as the most important fortification of ancient times. It was recorded in history that after the Shung Nu (匈奴) tribe had lost control of Yin Shan, its tribesmen never passed the mountains without weeping to mourn for the loss. The Mongolian Plateau is a dry, grassy country. The Gobi Desert (戈壁沙漠), known in ancient times as Han Hai (瀚海), lies in the north. North of the desert there are ranges upon ranges of densely forested mountains. The country is entirely different from the grass plains south of the desert. The population north of the Great Wall, whether they be Shung Nu or Tu Chueh (突厥) of ancient times or modern Mongolians, are nomads who eat meat and drink milk, live in tents and migrate to places where water and grass are available. They can stand extreme heat and cold and hunger. They make good cavalymen. They usually start their campaigns in the autumn, for by then the horses are at their best. After the vegetation on the plateau has withered, when there are few places that can afford concealment for the enemy, the cavalry can sweep over the plains without opposition.

The important base in this area is the forest belt north of the Gobi Desert. The people here make a living by tending cattle and hunting. Their cavalymen are known to be good fighters.

Genghis Khan was born of a forest tribe which inhabited near the source of the three rivers in the Keng Teh (肯特) Mountains. The valleys of the three rivers—Kuan Nan (幹難), Cheh Lu Lien (怯綠連), and Tu La (秃刺)—are fertile territory north of the Gobi Desert. When his son Emperor Tai Tsung of the Yuan Dynasty (元太宗 Ogotai) took over the reign, he established the capital at Ho-lin (和林 meaning a path in black forest in Mongolian), north of the Hang Ai Mountains (杭愛山) at the source of the Oer-kwun River (鄂爾坤河). After the fall of the Yuan Dynasty, the descendants of the emperor continued to live here.

The autumn in Mongolia coincided with some of the eventful times in Chinese history. It was during the autumn when the Mongolians came south to graze their horses and brought trouble to the south of the Great Wall.

Formerly campaigns in Mongolia required ample provisions and good supply of horses, or else the campaigners would be in danger of being cut off and starved. During the dynasties, campaigns against the Hsü lasted no more than one hundred days, because in the pasture land a stranger could not live off the country. Then there was a scarcity of springs, and in winter time it

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was bitterly cold.

During the past two thousand years, however, there have been more than one long expedition into Mongolia. In the first year of the reign of Emperor Ho Ti of the Han Dynasty (A.D. 89) General Tou Hsien (竇憲) went north to attack the Shung Nus (匈奴). He followed the Yellow River Bend north, crossed the Gobi Desert, and reached the top of Yen Jen Mountains (燕然山). After having told Pan Ku (班固) to carve his exploits on a stone tablet, he returned. In this campaign General Tou penetrated three thousand *li* into Mongolia. The place where he stopped should be the present Hang Ai Mountains (杭愛山 or Han Hai Range 杭海嶺). Both Emperor Yung Lo of the Ming Dynasty and Emperor Kang Hsi of the Ching Dynasty personally took part in the invasion of Mongolia. They went as far as the Keng Teh Mountains (肯特山), the birthplace of the Yuan emperors which were known for their abundance of water and grass and dense forests. This place was an ancient battleground in Mongolia. Emperor Kang Hsi's invasion of Mongolia took three separate routes, in each of which there were no more than thirty thousand men. The west route ran short of food and the men and horses suffered.

The Battle of Chao Mo To (昭莫多) at the beginning of the Ching Dynasty was one of the important battles in Chinese history. In an edict issued in the 48th year of his reign, Emperor Kang Hsi said: "During my travels, I often asked the old generals about the battlegrounds. They invariably answered that from ancient times campaigns have been made on old battlegrounds. Never has there been a battle fought over impossible terrain. When Emperor Cheng Chu of the Ming Dynasty invaded Mongolia, he also fought at Chao Mo To (meaning big forest in Mongolian language). We, therefore, know that in military operations and in deciding a camp site, we must find a place where there are water and grass. In an offensive we depend on the advantage of the terrain. If there are no water and grass in a place, how can we put camp there?"

Emperor Kang Hsi explained very well the important relations between national defense and history and geography. Outer Mongolia is natural defense of the north of China. Ulan Bator (庫倫) and Uron Kuylun (克魯倫) are what were formerly the source of three rivers. When China recovers Outer Mongolia, these places will still be China's northern defense frontiers.

II. The Yellow River Bend

In ancient times, the Yellow River Bend was considered as the base for

China to destroy the Hu tribes. It, therefore, constituted an important base of defense in the north. The Bend includes the plain west of the loop, or the Ninghsia plain, and the plain inside the loop and the Heiho valley (黑河流域) (all in the jurisdiction of present-day Suiyuan Province). Inside the loop there is the mountain fastness of Yin Shan (陰山). West of the Bend there is the Ho Lan Mountains (賀蘭山). On the plains the territory is level and the soil fertile and well irrigated. The area is well served by canals, and there is a bumper crop in most of the years. When it was settled by immigrants, there was no need of transporting grain from interior provinces. It was therefore called "Kiangnan north of the Great Wall."

Emperor Shin Huang Ti (始皇帝) of the Chin Dynasty was the first one who explored this area by sending General Mung Tien (蒙恬) at the head of an army to conquer the inside bend of the Yellow River. The frontiers of the dynasty moved forward over a thousand *li* and fortifications were established along the bank of the river to guard against the Shung Nu tribes. Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty (漢武帝) converted the bend of the river into a province. Cities were built and garrisoned by troops. Canals were built and farms laid out. As a result the Shung Nu tribesmen fled. Not a chief could be found south of the Gobi Desert.

During the Tang Dynasty, a fort by the name of Shou Hang (受降城) was built north of the bend beyond the Yellow River. This move had a great effect on the security of the dynasty, for the recovery of the throne by Emperor Su Tsung (肅宗) after the Tien Pao (天寶) rebellion was to no small degree due to the fact that the river bend was in the hands of the reigning dynasty. Su Tsung ascended throne at Ning Wu (寧武 Ning Wu Hsien, Ning Hsia Province) and finally succeeded in recovering the East and West capitals.

History also shows that if an alien race should occupy the river bend, its influence could by no means be neglected. For instance, the Hai Ho region was the birthplace of the Tobas (拓跋氏) of Later Wei Dynasty (後魏). From there they conquered Shansi, Hopei, and Honan to establish the North Dynasty as a counter to the Southern Dynasty. During the Sung Dynasty, Chao Yuan-hao (趙元昊) established the country Hsi Hsia (西夏) in Ninghsia to oppose Liao and Chin. It lasted nearly as long as the Sung Dynasty. The first emperors of the Ming Dynasty conquered the river bend. Thus both Shensi and Kansu were well protected and enjoyed peace. In the middle of the dynasty, the river bend was occupied by the Mongolians. After they had grazed their horses in this area, they had the intention to remain. To guard against their marauding, the Mings built the present Great Wall

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south of the old one. They also built the city of Yulin (榆林) and others along the borders for storing food and for garrisoning. But as the enemy had penetrated far to the south, it was very difficult to prepare for the defense. At the beginning of the Ching Dynasty, after a vast area of the North-west had been conquered, large garrisons were stationed in Kweishui and Ninghsia to maintain peace. Thus in reviewing ancient and modern history we cannot help being impressed by the important influence that strategic areas exert on historical developments.

III. West of the Yellow River

This area lies to the northwest of Kansu (甘肅) between the Chilien Mountains (祁連山) in the south and Ho Li (合黎) and Lung Shou (龍首) Mountains in the north. In the center is a long corridor of fertile plain, suitable for farming by garrisons. It bears close resemblance to the Yellow River Bend, except that the Bend is watered by the Yellow River while this area is irrigated by waters from the melted snow of the Chilien Mountains. The road between Lanchow and Sinkiang lies in this area. It is therefore known as the vital road for Kansu.

The area west of the Yellow River was formerly territory belonging to the Shung Nu tribesmen, Emperor Wen of the Han Dynasty sent a general to seize the Chilien and Yenchi (焉支) Mountains, as a result of which four counties—Wu Wei (武威 or Liangchow), Chang Yeh (張掖 or Kanchow), Chiuchuan (酒泉 or Suchow), and Tung Huang (敦煌)—were established. Thus the route to the Western Territory (西域) was opened up. Later on a city was built along the northern mountains up to Yu Meng Kwang (玉門關) west of Tung Huang to protect the garrison troops. Then from Chiuchuan north along the Chi Na River (濟納河) to Chui Yen Sea (居延海), there were a series of fortifications built during the Han Dynasty. The fire from the beacon of one of these forts was visible to the other forts. History says that after Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty had established the four counties, he sent six hundred thousand emigrants there as military settlers. The Tang Dynasty also sent many military colonists to this area. There was this common saying in ancient times, "Prime ministers are produced in the east of Han Ku Kwan (函谷關); generals in the west. Patriots and military officers are mostly born in Liangchow (涼州)." This bespoke of the result of colonizing by military settlers.

Tung Huang is the gateway of the west of the Yellow River. In his *Geography of the Western Territory*, Pei Chui (裴矩) of the Sui Dynasty said: "From Tung Huang to the Mediterranean Sea there are three routes.

The northern one is by way of I-wu (伊吾 now Hami, Sinkiang); the central one is by way of Kao Chang (高昌 now Turfan, Sinkiang), and the southern one is by way of Shan Shan (鄯善). They all converge at Tung Huang."

Shan Shan, also known as Lou Lan (樓蘭), was a city located on Lake Lo Pu Peh (羅布泊) in the west border of the Western Territory. It was an important point along the trade route between east and west. During the heydays of the Tang Dynasty, there were established a chain of pavilions as resting places for the travelers along the route from Tung Huang to Lake Lo Pu Peh. Therefore, Fort Yumen (玉門關) Was an important place. The Ming Dynasty began to extend the Great Wall to Chiayu Kwan (嘉峪關). The reason for building Chiayu Kwan was to block the roads leading to the west, because it was feared that Tung Huang was too exposed to be well defended. This marked the time of retreat. If the territory west of the Yellow River were lost, then the upper reaches of the river would be endangered. For instance, during the Sung Dynasty after Hsi Hsia (西夏) had seized control of the area west of the river, it could invade China Proper with the resources at its command. After the Tsin Dynasty had lost Liangchow (涼州), Emperor Wu (武帝) sighed at court, because Ho Chin (河津), a ferry point of the Yellow River at Lanchow, was thus blocked. In ancient times, the territory west of the Yellow River was regarded as the heart of China. If we look at a map of China today, we shall find that Liangchow is geometrically the center of China. Therefore, to protect China's Northwest we should begin with the territory west of the Yellow River.

IV. The Western Territory (西域)

A characteristic feature of the Western Territory is the oases, in which water and grass are found. The climate is dry. Springs come from melted snow, somewhat like those in the west of the Yellow River. The inhabitants live near the edge of the desert or on the slope of the mountains. Wherever there is a spring, there is a farm. Where there is no spring, there are sand and rocks. As the sandy area is more extensive than the area of the farms, the latter look like oases. The thirty-six countries in the Western Territory in ancient times all had their cities built around the oases. These petty states spread out like chess. Each of them maintained a small army and could be easily defeated.

At the present time, Su Luh (疏勒) and its environs have a population of three hundred thousand, Sa Che (莎車) and its environs two hundred thousand. These are comparatively big ones of the oases. As they are situated on the westernmost borders of China and separated by sandy wastes, they

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are very hard to reach. The climate alternates between extreme cold and heat. In the winter winds are cutting; in the summer they are burning. Military operation in this area is very difficult.

In ancient times, the Western Territory included the present Russian Asia Minor. It included near places like Lung Tui (龍堆 the desert between Tung Huang and Yen Tse) and far places like Chungling (葱嶺). The latter is at the present time the territory near the Pamir Plateau. This is the roof of the world. Even to this day, logistics for the support of a big army would be a most difficult problem. For this reason, the expansions into the Western Territory during the Han and Tang Dynasties formed really glorious chapters in our history. In the third year of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty (102 B. C.), General Li Kwang-li (李廣利) started from Tung Huang and reached in the following year with thirty thousand troops what is now known as Farghana in Asia Minor, where he won a big victory and spread the fame of Han into far Western Territory. Han began to rule the Western Territory in earnest during the reign of Emperor Hsuan (宣帝), when all the countries in South and North Tien Shan and east and west of Chungling were put under the Han viceroy with his capital at Wu Lay (烏壘 now Ku-cheh Hsien 庫車縣), the center of Sinkiang.

The Tang Dynasty established the Viceroy of An Hsi (安西 Pacification of the West 安西都護使) with his capital at Hsichow (西州 now Turfan) to rule over the territory north of Tien Shan and east Persia. The capital was later moved to Kwei-chi (龜茲 now Ku-cheh Hsien 庫車縣). The Tang Dynasty established the North Region Viceroy (北庭都護府) with its capital at Tingchow (庭州 now Tihwa) to govern the territory north of Tien Shan and Chi-er-chi-szu (吉爾吉思) steppes. In the sixth year of the reign of Hsuan Tsung (玄宗 747 A. D.), General Kao Hsien-tze (高仙芝) led ten thousand cavalymen struck out from An Hsi. After more than one hundred days, they reached what is now Su Luh (疏勒). After crossing the dangerous glaciers, he and his men reached the source of A-mu River (阿母河) on the Pamir Plateau, where they defeated the allied forces of Turfan (Tibetan) and Arabia. An English writer by the name of A. Stein commented on this engagement as the most memorable, because it showed how the Chinese could overcome the difficulties of the environment. Napoleon's crossing of the Alps was nothing when compared with this.

The third time China expanded in the Northwest was during the reign of Emperors Kang Hsi (康熙) and Chien Lung (乾隆) of the Ching Dynasty. At the beginning of the Ching Dynasty, the territory in North Tien Shan was occupied by the Dzungarian (準噶爾) tribe who came from West Mong-

olia. Operating from Ili (伊犁), they invaded Mongolia in the east, Tibet in the south, and posed a threat to China Proper. Emperor Kang Hsi led an attack on the Dzungarian tribesmen and defeated them in Outer Mongolia. In the twentieth year of Chien Lung (A.D. 1755), the Ching troops invaded Ili and suppressed the rebellion of the tribesmen. Four years later the revolt of the Mohammedans in South Tien Shan was suppressed. The Manchu court stationed a general at Ili to govern all the territory in North and South Tien Shan. A garrison of military settlers was stationed at Ili. Irrigation canals were dug for the irrigation of tens of thousands of *mou* of land.

Hami (哈密) is the point where North and South Tien Shan converge. In the military operations against the Western Territory in the Ching Dynasty, this was used as the main base for military supplies. During the reign of Emperor Tung Chih (同治), the revolt of the Mohammedans in Shensi and Kansu spread to Sinkiang. Very little was done to suppress the revolt until the first year of the reign of Kuang Hsu (光緒), when Cho Chung-tang (左宗棠), Viceroy of Shensi and Kansu, was appointed to direct military operations in Sinkiang. He started in the spring of the following year and pacified the North Tien Shan area. In the following year, South Tien Shan was pacified. By this time Ili had been laid waste. During the eighth year of the reign of Kuang Hsu (1882) Sinkiang was made a province with its capital at Tihwa (迪化). While Sinkiang was in the hands of the rebels, someone suggested to give up all the territory outside of the Great Wall. But Cho Chung-tang objected and said: "If we pay attention to Sinkiang, we shall be able to protect Mongolia. To protect Mongolia is to protect Peking." There is a good deal of truth in what he said.

V. Yellow River and Lung Shan (隴山) Area

Lung Shan is also called Lu Pan Mountains (六盤山), which runs north and south forming the divide between the Wei (渭水) and the Yellow Rivers. The region to the right of Lung Shan was the home of the Hsi Chiangs (西羌), or Tibetans. The upper reaches of the Yellow River is at Kao Lan Hsien (皋蘭縣) in the neighborhood of Lanchow. Several tributaries here empty themselves into the Yellow River. The Yao River (洮水), Lih (隴水) or Ta Hsia (大夏河) River, and Huang River (湟水) are the important ones, of which the last mentioned is especially important because it flows west to Chinghai (青海). Lanchow was known as Kincheng (金城) in ancient times. Since the Han Dynasty, Kincheng has been the chief city west of the Yellow River because of its strategic location where the other tribes and the Chinese commingle.

In the reign of Emperor Hsuan of the Han Dynasty (漢宣帝), Chao

Chung-kuo • (趙充國) went to Huang Chung (湟中) with military settlers. He built bridges and road, and his influence went over to Ta Sha (大峽) and Hsiao Sha (小峽), which are near the present-day Hsining (西寧). Though he had soldiers with him, he did not resort to the use of force, because he had a way of winning over the Chiangs and expand his territory.

When Wang Mang (王莽) was in power, he established the Hsi Hai Province (西海郡 present-day Chinghai 青海), as a result of which the flat country and the grassy land all came into the possession of the Han people, and the Chiangs retreated to the mountains. At the time of East Han (東漢), the dynastic power was at its low ebb, and the Chiang and Hu (胡) tribes rebelled in the west. As a result all the good generals and fighting men were stationed in the Yellow River and Lung Shan area.

During the Tang Dynasty the influence of the Hans again expanded outward. The governor of Lung Yu (隴右) had his headquarters at Shan Chow (鄯州), now Hsining. General Li Chin (李靖) took an army to conquer the Turfans. His vanguards reached Hsin Shu Hai (星宿海). This was the first time when Chinese troops reached the source of the Yellow River. During the rebellion of An Lo-shan (安祿山) and Shih Sze-ming (史思明) the troops in the border areas were transferred to the interior, thus weakening the frontier defenses. The Turfans became strong; and as a result of the peace treaty of Chin Shui (清水 now Chin Shui Hsien in the northwest of Kansu), the territories to the west of the Yellow River and the right of Lung Shan all fell to them. The land south of the Chin River and north of the Wei River became the bone of contention between the Tang Dynasty and the tribesmen. There was a saying: "Unless the northern region is defended and the Yellow River and Lung Shan made secure, the capital can not be safe in Hanchung."

In the Sung Dynasty, when Wang An-shih (王安石) was prime minister, Huang Chung (湟中) was recovered. When the Sung Dynasty moved to south of the Yangtze River, the Yellow River and Lung Shan area was again lost. It was not recovered until the Ming Dynasty when General Hsu Ta (徐達) led an army to reconquer it, laid out cities and built forts, and moved settlers there. In the reign of Emperor Yung Cheng (雍正), Yo Chung-chi (岳鍾琪) pacified Chinghai (青海) and established the High Commissioner of Chinghai (青海辦事大臣). Every year the tribesmen held a meeting on the shores of Chinghai. During this time the Mongolians and Tibetans each lived on one side of the Yellow River. As the Tibetans became strong and the Mongolians weak after the middle of the dynasty, the shores of Chinghai were also inhabited by the Tibetans. In short, beginning from the Han and

the Tang Dynasties, this area has more than once been expanded or settled by immigrants from China Proper and ruled by duly appointed officials. Beginning from the Ming Dynasty, many Mohammedans have come to settle here, resulting in transforming the place into the melting pot of the Hans, Mohammedans, Mongolians and Tibetans.

VI. Kwanchung Area (關中區)

The imperial capital of ancient times Changan (長安) was located at the center of four passes. In the east, Tung Kwan (潼關) leads to the Central Plain. In the south, Wu Kwan (武關) leads to the Han River (漢水). In the west, San Kwan (散關) leads to Chan Tao (棧道). In the north, Hsiao Kwan (蕭關 in the Lu Pan Mountains) leads to Ninghsia. This shows the ambitions of the founders of the Han and Tang dynasties, because, in locating their capital at Changan, they had no intention of shutting themselves up inside the passes but intended to exercise their control from this centrally located spot. Chang Liang (張良) very well said: "Kwanchung has the Hsiao Han (穀函) pass to its left and Lung Shan and Szechwan to its right. In the south there are the riches of Szechwan. In the north there are the facilities of the Chiangs and Hus. The Yellow and the Wei Rivers bring tribute rice from all parts of the empire to supply the capital." Kwanchung, watered by the Wei River (渭水) and its tributary Chin River (涇水), was known for its wealth and prosperity. During the Han Dynasty, the Yellow River was used for transporting the grain in Kwantung to supply Changan. Later in the Sui and Tang Dynasties connections were made of the Yangtze, Hwai (淮), Yellow, and Wei Rivers, so that boats from all parts of the country could converge under the gate of Changan. After the Chan Tao Pass (棧道) in Chinling was opened, the unification of China received a great impetus, for then communication between Kwanchung and Szechwan was made possible. In the heydays of the Han and Tang Dynasties, the imperial capital of Changan was not only the center of communication within the country but also an important city for the communication between China and foreign countries. In regard to communication with countries to the west, if Tung Huang was regarded as the front gate, then Changan should be the parlor. Based on his deep study of national defense, President Chiang Kai-shek once had a plan for establishing China's capital at Sian (modern name for Changan). Of its merits he said: "Situated between the Northeast and Northwest, it is centrally located. It is easy to exercise control from here over the entire country. Besides, it was the capital when China was in its heydays."

In the Chinese history when the Kwanchung area suffered from war,

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its effect, was usually felt by the rest of the country. The fall of the Ming Dynasty was a good case in point. Toward the end of the dynasty, there was an unprecedented famine in northern Shensi and Yen-an lasting four years. Garrisons on the borders revolted and became roving bandits with big following. Few were willing to remain law-abiding citizens. The reason for this development was that the rulers of the time regarded both Yen-an and Shensi as only small part of the country. They could hardly foresee that roving bandits from this area would overrun the country and resulted in the disastrous consequence of bringing down the whole edifice of the dynasty.

VII. Chinling (秦嶺) Area

There was an ancient saying: "Chinling is the biggest obstacle of the whole country." For here are lofty mountains with peaks piling upon one another and steep and dangerous passes most difficult for traveling. The rise and fall of the dynasties were printed in the gorges of these mountains. In the south are the upper reaches of the Han River (漢水) with deep gorges and fertile plains, known as Hanchung (漢中). Hanchung is strategically located south of Kwanchung and north of Szechwan. The first emperor of the Han Dynasty established his base of operation here and conquered one after another Szechwan, Shensi, and the rest of the provinces of China. To this day the word *Han* still stands for the Chinese race. The Pa Mountains (巴山) rise suddenly in the south of Hanchung opposite Chinling, exceeding the latter in the density of wood.

The ancients said of Hanchung that it controlled six important military routes. The first of these was the Lan Wu road (藍武道), which started from Changan to pass by Lan-tien (藍田) and Shang Nan (商南). There it crossed Chinling and followed the Tan River (丹江) to the Han River (漢水). The second road, Tse Wu (子午道), ran from Changan south to Tse Wu town (子午鎮) and crossed Chinling south to Ningsia and Shensi, thence southwest to Yang Hsien (洋縣). This was a difficult road and seldom used. Only during the Tang Dynasty, when there was unrest in the capital Changan, did the emperors go to Szechwan by this route.

The third road was called Pao Hsieh Road (褒斜道). It ran from Mei Hsien (郿縣) to Hsieh Ku where it went up the mountains. Crossing the west of the Ta Peh Mountains (太白山), it reached the mountain valley of the Pao River (褒水). This was an important highway between Kwanchung and Hanchung during the Han and Tang Dynasties. The products of Hanchung were transported on this road to the capital. At the time of Su

Han (蜀漢) Chu-Ko Liang often dispatched his troops over this road. Wu Chang Yuen (五丈原), a place outside of Hsieh Ku (斜谷), was the place where he died.

The fourth was North Chan Tao (北棧道), or Chen Chon Tao (陳倉道). The southern end of this road took the same course as the Pao Hsieh Road. The northern end went south from Paochi Hsien (寶雞縣) and crossed Ta San Pass (大散關) to reach Chinling. When the first emperor of the Han Dynasty conquered Shensi, his troops went by this road. In modern times, it is used for the communication between this area and Kwanchung.

All the four roads mentioned above are in present-day Shensi.

The fifth was the Hsien Jen Pass Road (仙人關道) and the sixth Chi Mountain Road (祁山道), both of which are in present Kansu Province. The former was in the valley of the Peh Sui River (白水江), the latter that of the West Han River (西漢江), which is in the upper reaches of the Chialing River. In the fourth year of the reign of Emperor Kao Tsung (高宗 A.D. 1134) of the Sung Dynasty, the brothers Wu Chieh (吳玠) and Wu Lin (吳玠) fought a battle with Wu Shu (兀朮) of the Kin Dynasty at Hsien Jen Pass (仙人關 in present Hui Hsien 徽縣) and defeated him. Before the battle, Wu Shu had hoped that he could conquer Szechwan; but after being defeated, he retreated to Feng Hsiang (鳳翔), where he remained and dared not venture out again.

Chu-Ko Liang (諸葛亮) several times campaigned against Chi Shan (祁山 now Hsi Ho Hsien). After crossing the mountains he would attack Tien Sui (天水). This was a leveler and easier, though longer, road than Chan Tao. But due to the difficulty of transporting food supply, he failed in all his attempts.

Aside from the six roads mentioned in the foregoing there were two more expeditious roads. One of these was the Yin Pin Road (陰平道) in the westernmost of the area, which is now Kansu Province. The other was in the easternmost of the area, the Tang Teng Road (唐鄧道), in the present Honan Province. In all there were eight routes.

Teng Ai (鄧艾) started from Yin Pin and crossed an uninhabited area of more than seven hundred li, passing through Wu Tu (武都) and Wen Hsien (文縣) in the present Kansu Province, which are the valley of the Peh Lung River (白龍江) forming the upper reaches of the Chialing River (嘉陵江). His officers and men scaled the steep cliffs in single file by

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holding on to the trees. After scaling the mountains, he set up his headquarters at Pin Lu (平陸). The Szechwan people were taken by surprise and surrendered to him.

Genghis Khan in his deathbed said to his people: "The picked troops of Kin (金) are stationed at Tung Kwan (潼關). In the south they hold Lien Shan (連山). In the north they are protected by the Yellow River. It is impossible to defeat them at the moment. If we seek permission from Sung to let us to go through its country to attack Kin, it will certainly allow us because Sung and Kin are traditional enemies. Then we can attack Tang Teng (唐鄧) and push on to Ta Liang (大梁 now Kaifeng). In an emergency Kin would withdraw its forces from Tung Kwan. When tens of thousands go to the rescue of a place a thousand *li* away, the men and horses would be tired. They may arrive, but they would not be able to fight. We shall have no difficulty in defeating them." After these words, he died. Acting on his instructions, the Mongolians conquered Kin by following the Han River downstream through Teng Hsien (鄧縣) and Tang Ho (唐河) in present Honan Province, where they turned north and crossed East Chinling to make the attack. This shows how Genghis Khan was familiar with the topography of the land.

Pa Shan (巴山) is not as well-known as Chinling, but it should not be neglected. Toward the end of the Yuan Dynasty, roving bandits gathered at Pa Shan and soon became uncontrollable. In the latter part of the reign of Emperor Chien Lung of the Ching Dynasty, the religious bandits in Szechwan and Shensi also occupied Pa Shan. It was only after nine years and the expenditure of two hundred million taels of silver that they were pacified.

VIII. Szechwan Area

Szechwan is a perfect basin with mild climate, easy river communication, plentiful products, and a large population. From the Chin and the Han dynasties to South Sung, more tax revenue was collected from this province than from any other provinces. From the point of view of national defense, Szechwan is the most important area in China. The basin is surrounded on all sides by high mountains. In the north is Chinling which is negotiable by two precarious mountain passes, Chian Ko (劍閣) and Chan Tao. The east leads to the Yangtze and Han Rivers through the dangerous currents of the Chui Tang Gorges (瞿塘三峽). Since ancient times, traveling in Szechwan has been known to be difficult.

However, it is wrong to think Szechwan is a place easy to defend but from which it is difficult to launch an attack. Chu-Ko Liang once said that Yi Chow (益州) was strategically a confined God's country, with thousands of li of fertile plains. Therefore, when Su Han made its capital here, it succeeded in conquering one third of the then empire. It was conquered by the two generals of Wei, Teng Ai (鄧艾) and Chung Hui (鍾會), only after they had mobilized 180,000 troops and the entire resources of the country. With their capital at Changan, the Tang emperors would flee to Chengtu (成都), then called the Southern Capital (南京), each time when Changan was endangered by rebels.

All this may be said to be due to the defensive potentiality of the area. Its value as the staging area for launching attacks may be witnessed in the following. Wang Chuun (王濬) of the West Tsin (西晉) Dynasty built arms and war craft at Yichow. His vessels sailed down the Yangtze in force to attack and conquer the country of Wu. In preparation for his campaign against Korea, Emperor Tai Chung of the Tang Dynasty (唐太宗) had war vessels built at Chien Nan Tao (劍南道). These craft sailed down the Yangtze to anchor at Nanking and Yangchow, whence they set sail to attack Korea.

Since ancient times attacks on Szechwan have followed the water and land routes — the former along the Yangtze through the gorges, the latter through Chien Ko (also known as Liang Shan 梁山). Attacks launched from Szechwan also followed these two routes to gain control of Shensi and Hupeh. Chu-Ko Liang's attack to the north failed, but his campaigns along the river won some success.

Szechwan is as important to the border defense of the Southwest as Kwangtung is to the Northwest. The territory west of the Ta Tu River (大渡河) was the home of the Southern Barbarians (南蠻) and was formerly a place where the Hans and the aborigines mixed. But from Sikang and Yunnan the terrain descends lower and lower as it reaches Szechwan. Therefore, attacks launched from these provinces on Szechwan have the advantage of descending. In China's history, whenever there was invasion from the southwest borders, it invariably threatened Chengtu, the provincial capital. Instances will be mentioned later in the section dealing with Yunnan and Kweichow.

During the eight years of war with Japan, Szechwan was the base in the rear, and Chungking was the wartime capital. Szechwan was assisted by the provinces in the Northwest and Southwest, and China finally won its war against Japan.

IX. The Chin Valley

The section of the Yangtze River above Szechwan is called the Chin Sa River (金沙江). Its tributary, the Ya Lung River (雅龍江), is also known as the Small Chin Sa River (小金沙江). Both derive their names from the gold they produce. The Small Chin Sa River is also known as Lu Sui (瀘水), known in history as the river crossed by Chu-Ko Liang in the fifth moon. Both rivers are situated in Sikang Province. With its very lofty mountains and deep gorges, Sikang never saw much warfare during the dynasties. The most famous war which took place there was the Battle of the Chin Sa Rivers in the reign of Chien Lung of the Ching Dynasty. Whereas the campaign against the Chuin (準) and Mohammedan tribes in his reign lasted five years and cost the treasury 30,000,000 taels of silver, the war along the Chin Sa Rivers lasted five to six years and cost 70,000,000 taels of silver. The reasons for this protracted war were many. Chief among them were the climate and the difficulty of transporting supplies. The weather is very cold with frequent sleet and snow. The place grows little else but buckwheat. High mountains pile upon each other. An occasional stream winds itself among lofty mountains. It can be crossed by a boat made of animal skins or a bridge made of ropes. The mountains create the illusion that ten thousands of sentrymen standing guard over the place. The natives of Sikang (popularly known as Si Fan 西番) were skilled in mountain warfare. They were shod with leather boots and experienced no difficulty in scaling the mountain. They built forts by piling up stones to look like a pagoda. The defenders of such forts had all the advantage over the attackers, so that it was harder to capture a stone fort than a city. With these forts, the natives of Sikang could defy all the forces mobilized against them from other parts of China.

When Emperor Chien Lung heard of these forts, he made replicas of them in Siang Mountain (香山) near Peiping. He also had ladders made and sent picked troops to learn the ways for capturing such forts. At the beginning of the campaign in Sikang, the Chinese troops built their own forts to fight the Si Fan forts, but they were overwhelmed by the larger number of Si Fans. Later they changed their plans. They by-passed the forts and took the enemy by surprise from the rear. Seeing that they had lost contact with the rear, the defenders of the forts generally gave up without a fight.

The War of the Chin Rivers had great significance in China's war history. Since then the Chinese people have learned the advantage of building mountain forts. During the Ching Dynasty, the Hunan troops used

them to suppress the Miao (苗) tribesmen. The troops along the Yunnan borders used them to fight the Lo (傣) aborigines. The same tactics was used to fight the religious bandits in Szechwan and Shensi. In addition, the "scorched earth policy" was used to make roving bandits impossible to thrive. In modern times the Chinese government force used them in the campaign against the Communists in Kiangsi; and as the Communist threat spread, forts are built in all parts of the country.

Transportation in Sikang is more difficult than in any other province in the country, because all the important highways have to cross the mountains or the rivers at right angle. Ferry crossings were established in rivers with steep perpendicular banks. Rope bridges hang a thousand feet above the bottom of the river. Traveling here is far more dangerous and forbidding than on the Chan Tao.

Despite such dangers, some militarists preferred to go across Sikang in order to achieve an element of surprise. In his attack on Tali (大理), Kublai of the Yuan Dynasty avoided Szechwan through which the natural road for campaign against Tali lies. Instead, he started from Lin and traversed two thousand *li* over mountains by following the Chin Sa Rivers south and crossed uninhabited country. It thus shows that the Mongolians were masters in creating surprise.

X. Tibet

Tibet is the highest plateau and the Himalayas are the highest mountains in the world. The Chinese once made war in this high and cold area and came back victorious. The Turfans (吐蕃) became strong in the Tang Dynasty. They maintained a victorious army of hundreds of thousands. Emperor Tai Tsung married a princess of the royal family to the Turfan king, which showed that the relations between Turfan and Tang were those of independent states. This was further witnessed by the peace treaty carved on a stone tablet in the first year of the reign of Emperor Mu Tsung of Tang (唐穆宗 now in Ta Chao Temple 大詔寺, Lhasa), in which Tang and Turfan were mentioned side by side. In the reign of Emperor Chien Lung of the Ching Dynasty, Chinese and Tibetan relations underwent a great change. As a result of the military expedition at this time, Tibet became Chinese territory. In the reign of Kang Hsi the Dzungarian tribesmen (準噶爾) invaded Tibet and ravaged the country. Speaking of this invasion, Emperor Kang Hsi said: "Tibet shields Chinghai, Yunnan, and Szechwan. If the Dzungarians should occupy it, there would be no peace along the borders. But if they should be able to cross over snow and make descent from dan-

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gerous precipices by ropes, why can our troops not do the same?" Therefore, he sent a large force into Tibet. The battle for the mastery of Tibet took place at Tang La Range (當拉嶺). The Ching troops had their headquarters at the Tung Tien River (通天河), which is the source of the Chin Sa River. From a gateway in the Tang La Mountains, they advanced on to Lhasa and pacified Tibet.

In the reign of Emperor Chien Lung the Ghurkas (廓爾喀) from Nepal invaded the border and raided Cha-she-lun-pu (扎什倫布). Tibet was shaken. In the 57th year of Chien Lung's reign (1792), General Fu Kang-an (福康安) was sent to fight the Ghurkas. He advanced by three routes over the Himalayas ranges. After capturing the capital, he returned. In view of the fact that the Ghurkas had twice invaded Tibet, Emperor Chien Lung considered that this was mainly due to the irresponsibility of the Chinese minister to Tibet. When the war was won, he made changes so that Tibet has since been under Chinese sovereignty.

In the reign of Tai Tsung of the Tang Dynasty, China sent an expedition to India. After the Buddhist monk Hsuan Chuang (玄奘) returned from India with his sutra, Emperor Tai Tsung sent Wang Hsuan-cheh (王玄策) as envoy to that country. Wang started from Tibet and reached the country of Mo Cheh To (摩揭陀) in India via Nepal. There happened to be a revolt in Mo Cheh To, and all Wang's followers were killed. He fled to the west of Turfan to ask for reinforcement from the border states. The king of Nepal responded with seven thousand cavalymen, and the Turfan king also came to his rescue with one thousand two hundred men. Under the lead of Wang, they defeated the troops of Mo Cheh To, entered the capital, and brought back the king as captive to the Tang emperor in A.D. 648. The power of the Tang Dynasty at this time extended to far-off places, and Turfan was on friendly terms with Tang. The road to India via present-day Chinghai and Tibet was much used. Wang Hsuan-cheh was sent three times to India by the emperor. His exploits in distant countries were comparable to Pan Chao (班超) of the Han Dynasty and deserves our admiration.

XI. Yunnan and Kweichow

Yunnan and Kweichow are located on a high plateau. The terrain is rugged. The rivers are unnavigable rapids. Western Yunnan especially abounds in high mountains and deep valleys. There are few roads, and even the few are difficult to travel on. The Hans and the aborigines intermingle. Yunnan was first made a province during the Yuan Dynasty, Kweichow during the Ming Dynasty. From East Han to Yuan and Ming, these were divided

into counties and prefectures, but the aborigines were ruled by their own chiefs. Their customs, therefore, persisted, and they were assimilated at a later date even than the people south of Ta Yu Range (大庾嶺).

The most memorable battles along the southwestern borders were fought by Chu-Ko Liang and Wang Chi (王驥) of the Ming Dynasty. The former conquered the Southern Barbarians to secure his rear so that he could use his forces in Szechwan to fight his opponents in the Central Plain. On the Erh River (洱水) in the south of Tali there is a bridge called Tiem Sun (天生橋). It is believed that this is where Chu-Ko Liang caught and released Meng Ho (孟獲) seven times in order to win him over. In the thirteenth year of the reign of Yin Tsung (英宗) of the Ming Dynasty (1448), when Wang Chi attacked Lu Chuan (麓川), his momentum carried him to what is now Myit-kyina in Burma. After he had crossed to the west bank of the Irrawaddy River, the natives were shocked. They said: "No Han has ever crossed this river. Heaven must have helped the imperial forces to come this far." Wang Chi raised a stone tablet on the bank of the river with the legend: "After the stone has moldered and the river dried, thou art the only one that hath crossed." This was carved deep in big characters. In the twenty-third year of the reign of Emperor Kwang Hsu, the British broke up the tablet and sent the pieces to the bottom of the river. To this day, the aborigines on the Yunnan borders are still maintaining temples in which to worship Chu-Ko Liang and Wang Chi and offer sacrifices to them in the spring and summer. They implicitly followed their ancestral injunctions to do their best to deserve the name of being the offspring of the Hans. This is a vindication of the saying of Chu-Ko Liang: "In strategy, attack the heart first; the city next."

Chu-Ko Liang's concern for securing his rear referred to in the foregoing was also vindicated by later happenings in the Tang and Ming Dynasties, because to protect Yunnan and Kweichow is to protect Szechwan. It is believed that the weakening of the Tang Dynasty was due to the corruption of the eunuchs at the court and the invasion of Nan Chao (南詔) from the outside. Nan Chao was peopled by the Shan (掸) tribes (or Pai Yi 擺夷, or Pei Yi 白夷). Their capital was located at Tali. Beginning from the reign of Tien Pao (天寶), the tribesmen molested the borders. They sallied north from what is now Hui Lieh (會理), attacked Ya An (雅安), occupied Cheng-tu, and often invaded Szechwan. They came by the Chien Chang Valley (建昌谷).

Having learned from this lesson, the Sung people gave up the possession of Yunnan at the line of the Ta Tu River (大渡河). The Lo Lo (倮倮) tribes (or Lo Lo 倮倮, or Tsuan Mahn 爨蠻) were also an important group of

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aborigines in the Southwest. Starting from Chien Chang they spread to the border areas of Yunnan, Kweichow, and Szechwan Provinces. In the reign of Emperor Hung Wu (洪武帝) of the Ming Dynasty, they surrendered to the Chinese, and their chief was ordained to be the Pacification Commissioner (宣撫使) with title to hold his territory in perpetuation. In the first year of the reign of the Hsi Tsung of the Ming Dynasty (明熹宗 1621) the Lo Lo tribes rebelled; and joining forces with the chiefs of Shui Hsi (水西) tribes, he occupied Lu Chow (瀘州) and Chungking. Here he divided his forces into two—one to hold the mouth of the river at Kuei Chow (夔州) and the other to occupy Chi Chiang (綦江) and Chun Yi (遵義). The whole of Szechwan was greatly disturbed, and his forces surrounded Chengtu for 102 days before the siege was lifted.

During the Ching Dynasty, the Miao (苗) tribes in Kweichow often revolted. During Emperor Yung Cheng's reign O Erh Tai's (鄂爾泰) proposal for the assimilation of the aborigines was put into effect. The Miaos objected to this and staged frequent revolts. The southern part of Kweichow especially suffered. It took more than ten years to pacify them.

There are also Mohammedans in Yunnan, who came there with the invasion of Tali during the Yuan Dynasty. During the reign of Emperors Hsien Feng and Tung Chih, the Mohammedans in Yunnan rebelled and occupied Tali. The fight between the Hans and the Mohammedans lasted twenty years, greatly sapping the resources of the province.

Both Yunnan and Kweichow are on a plateau, which descends rapidly into the basin of Szechwan. A telling blow may be launched from this corner of the country on Szechwan as well as on other parts of China. This may be witnessed by the successful revolution started in Yunnan after the establishment of the Republic.

XII. Kwangtung and Kwangsi

To the north of these two provinces there are five ranges of mountains, to the south three rivers. The Kuei River (桂江), a tributary of the West River, joins with the Hsiang River (湘水) in its upper reaches. This joining of the two rivers is of great strategic importance, as it makes it possible for Kwangtung to communicate with the north. The canal, Lih Sui (潯水), was opened by Sze Lu (史祿) of the Chin Dynasty. General Ma Yuen (馬援) of the Han Dynasty dredged it. When he went to attack Chiao Chi (now Vietnam), he followed this canal. General Ma Yuen played an important part in the development of the area south of Ta Yu Range, and the peo-

ple in Kwangtung have since honored him by naming places after him in the same way as the Szechwanese have honored Chu-Ko Liang, as, for instance, Fu Po (Ma's official title) beach, Fu Po Cliff, etc.

Vietnam was formerly under the Chinese jurisdiction. Present-day Cheng Nan Pass (鎮南關) on the borders of Lung Chow (龍州) in Kwangsi Province has been the important gateway for transit of tributes coming from this country to China. During the Sino-French War in the 11th year of the reign of Emperor Kwang Hsu (1885), this was the place where the Chinese forces won a battle over the French and advanced from there to take Liang Shan (諒山). Transit through the Ta Yu Range (大庾嶺) via the territory north of the North River began to become frequent after the Tang Dynasty. But this route is not as convenient as the route via Kweilin (桂林) by boat. There was, therefore, a saying to the effect that it was not as easy to go through Kwangtung than Kwangsi.

There were two rebellions in Chinese history which were started in Kwangsi. Toward the end of the Tang Dynasty Huang Chao (黃巢) made his way to Kwangsi, whence he turned his way north. While in Kweilin he constructed large rafts with which he floated his army north to the Hsiang River, thence to Hupeh and the Yangtze and Hwei River area. He then entered Tung Kwan, seized Changan, and conquered the Tang Dynasty.

The second rebellion took place at Chin Chow (潯州 now Kwei Ping Hsien 桂平縣), Kwangsi. In the first year of Hsien Feng (咸豐 1851) Hung Hsiuchuan (洪秀全) established the Tai Ping Kingdom. In the following year, he started from Kweilin (桂林) and conquered Hunan. Starting from Changsha, he conquered Wuhan, whence he floated down the Yangtze. In the 3rd year of Hsien Feng he seized Nanking where he established his capital. Here he ruled half of the country on an equal footing with the Ching Dynasty for ten years. Over twenty million people died in this rebellion.

Kwangtung touches the South China Sea. The sea defense of this province is very important. In the Sung Dynasty it was defended by Ya Shan (崖山); in the Ching Dynasty by Hu Meng (虎門).

Modern Chinese revolutionary movement had its origin in Kwangtung Province. Dr. Sun Yat-sen once said: "The Revolutionary Party used Kwangtung as the base of operation to build a new China. Canton is a good foundation for building up the country." The glorious deeds of the revolution started by Sun Yat-sen have become a record of history.

Communication between China and the South Seas may be traced to the

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Han Dynasty, Canton has since become an important port. During this time, there were two routes from China to India. One lay through the Western Territory, and the other was by way of the South Seas. The latter route might have been developed before the former. One way of sending supplies to the troops in Annam from Kwangtung was to ship them down from the Hsiang and West Rivers. This involved a great expenditure of labor and money. Later big ships were built for transporting rice from Fukien. The rice supply for the military was thus assured.

The Luichow Peninsula (雷州半島) was also an important starting point for sailings to the South Seas. Kiungchow (瓊州) controls the strait between Hainan and the Luichow Peninsula. A navy was based here in the Sung Dynasty. In the Ming Dynasty war vessels anchored here. Hainan Island is a screen for Kwangtung Province, and has since ancient times been regarded as strategically important.

One thing that the Kwangtung and Kwangsi area has in common with the Yunnan and Kweichow area is that there still exist aborigines in both areas. The Yao (瑤) tribes in Kwangtung and Kwangsi and the Li (黎) tribes on Hainan Island are all descendants of Peh Yueh (百越).

The Ta Tun George (大藤峽) lies west of Chin Chow (潯州), Kwangsi. On both side of the river there are high mountains and impenetrable jungles. Frequent uprisings of the Yaos broke out here in the Ming Dynasty. After Wang Shou-jen (王守仁) was sent there to fight them, the insurgents were gradually brought under control. There are mountain fastnesses in Southwest China which are made inaccessible by precipitous rivers or impenetrable jungles. This explains why there are still in the southwestern provinces aborigines who have not been assimilated by the Chinese.

XIII. Fukien and Chekiang

Fukien and Chekiang, as Kwangtung and Kwangsi, are all hill lands. Chi Chi-kwang (戚繼光) of the Ming Dynasty once said: "Only the Chekiang soldiers can fight on mountains, in the valleys, and in the woods." This was necessitated by fighting in hill land.

High peaks and secluded valleys are suitable for building defense positions. The Tu Sung Pass (獨松關) in the Tien Mu Mountains (天目山) was an important bastion guarding the approach to Hangchow (杭州). That the pass was penetrated during the Sung by the Kins and the Mongolians was due more to human factor than to disadvantageous terrain. In the third year of

the reign of Kao Tsung of the Sung Dynasty (宋高宗 A.D. 1129) Uu Shu (兀朮) of Kin started from Kwang Teh (廣德) and when he came to Tu Sung Pass, he found no garrison. "If the South Sung people would guard this with only a few hundred weak troops. I would not have dared to pass it," he said to his men. He went from there to attack Hangchow. This was repeated by the Yuan (Mongolian) troops. After they had taken the Tu Sung Pass, Hangchow fell.

Equal in importance to the Tu Sung Pass are the Yu Shan Road (玉山路) on the Chekiang-Kiangsi borders, San Kwan Road (杉關路) on the Fukien-Kiangsi borders, and Sien Ya Kwan Road (仙霞關路) on the Chekiang-Fukien borders. When the Southeast is threatened, these places should be guarded hand in hand with the coast. The coast of the hilly lands is usually formed in places where mountains meet the sea, thus making the establishment of defenses an easy matter.

In ancient times, great attention was paid to coastal defense. During the Han and Tsin Dynasties, fishery and salt-making along the sea coast were well developed. After the Tang Dynasty, Chinese vessels plied the four seas. At the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty, the fleet under the command of Fan Wen-hu (范文虎) was defeated by the Japanese. This started China's trouble with Japan. Min Chow (明州 now Ningpo寧波) was formerly an important port, through which tributes from Japan were routed. In the Ming Dynasty Japanese pirates ravaged the China coast. Fukien and Chekiang suffered the most. Only after Yui Ta Yu (俞大猷) was sent to consolidate Chekiang and Chi Chi-kwang (戚繼光) to fight along the Fukien coast did the Japanese pirate menace begin to be under control. In view of the fact many people along the coast had dealings with the enemy, the Ming court decreed that the coastal areas be evacuated. This resulted not only in the breaking up of homes but also the loss of the benefits derived from navigation, fishery, and salt-making. Since the Europeans came, this loss of contact with the sea has worked great hardship on China. In modern times, the sea has brought to China more trouble than in any previous period. Though China has developed a navy, built naval bases, had established shipyards, she can hardly catch up with foreign countries.

The Fukien-Chekiang area had a great deal to do with China's overseas expansion in history. The biggest sea-borne campaign of the Yuan Dynasty was against Java. The assembly port for the campaign was Chuanchow (泉州), Fukien, which had since the Tang Dynasty grown prosperous through trading with the countries overseas. It was also from here that many Fukienese went away to settle abroad,

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At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, an eunuch named Cheng Ho (鄭和) sailed to the South Seas with a large fleet. Then after the fall of the Dynasty Cheng Cheng-kung (鄭成功) retook Taiwan from the Dutch who had seized it from China. These namesakes are heroes in Chinese history.

From the viewpoint of national defense, Taiwan was considered as the shield of seven provinces. After the loss of Taiwan to the Japanese, there were repeated revolts among the people for the recovery of the island, but it was retaken to China only after fifty years of occupation by Japan. As Japan was a sea power, we fought against her with our land power. During the War of Resistance, we had our base in Szechwan. The Soviet Union is a land power, we are fighting against her with sea power and are using Taiwan as the sacred bastion for our Anti-Communist and Resist-Russia struggle.

XIV. The Yangtze and Hwai Valley

The Yangtze and the Hwai are closely related. From ancient times when the capital was established at Nanking, it was the practice to draw on the resources of the territory south of the Yangtze for support of the government and to locate the defenses of the capital in the Hwai Valley. The reason why the six Dynasty (六朝) could protect the territory south of the Yangtze was due to the fact that strong forces were stationed in Hwai Nan (淮南) and Hupeh. As long as the Li house of the Later Tang Dynasty controlled Hwai Nan, it felt secure in the capital, Nanking. But when Hwai Nan was taken by Later Chou, it could no longer stand. In the first years of the South Sung Dynasty, the Hwai Valley was invaded, and the Sung emperor had to move his capital to Hangchow so that he might depend on the Yangtze as defense. To defend the Yangtze at the expense of the Hwai was regarded as similar to a situation wherein the lip is gone, because then the teeth are naturally exposed to cold. In ancient times it was considered good strategy to attack the enemy first before he could cross either the Hwai or the Yangtze. A case in point was when Hsieh Yuen (謝元) defeated Fu Chien (苻堅) at the Fei River (淝水) and succeeded in finally routing him. Similarly, after Yui Yuun-wen (虞允文) had defeated the Kin soldiers at Chai Shih (采石), he was able to hold them at bay.

Generally speaking, Shou Chun (壽春) and Feng Yang (鳳陽) are the gateways to the Hwai Valley, while Chai Shih and Chin Kou (京口 now Chinkiang 鎮江) are important points on the Yangtze. In the third year of the reign of Emperor Hung Wu (洪武 1370), Feng Yang was decreed by the emperor to be the Middle Capital (中都), because it had the Yangtze in front and the Hwai at the back, in addition to the fact that it was easily defend-

able and near the Grand Canal.

Yangchow (揚州) faces Chin Kou to the south. It can control the Hwai, protect the Yangtze, and defend the Grand Canal. Therefore, it was made the East Capital during the South Tang Dynasty. In ancient times, King Fu Cha of Wu (吳王夫差) built a city on the Grand Canal and made the latter connect the Yangtze and the Hwai. Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty had it dredged and made it the canal we find today. During the summer months when water is high, the canal drains directly into the Yangtze.

The Yangtze was formerly regarded as "Nature's moat," separating the North and the South. A successful attack of the other bank of the river necessitated the assembling of a large fleet. When Wang Chuun (王濬) of the Tsin Dynasty attacked the country Wu (吳), he had to build war vessels in Szechwan. It took him several years of planning and making the preparations. In attacking Kiang Tung (江東), one of the Sui (隋) fleet started from Yangchow, one from Lu Chow (廬州 now Hefei合肥), and one floated down river from Hupeh. When the three fleets converged at Nanking, they had no difficulty of taking it. This led to the unification of the country under the Sui Dynasty.

Sea communication dates back to the time of Chin. During the Tang Dynasty rice was transported to Hopei by sea. Sea communication was well developed during the Yuan Dynasty; and sailing by sea from Liu Chia Ho (劉家河 now Liu Ho Kou 瀏河口), Soochow, to Tientsin took only ten days. In the reign of Emperor Yung Lo of the Ming Dynasty (明永樂), after the Hui Tung Canal (會通河) was completed, grain could be transported through the canal, and sea transportation was not much used. When Cheng Ho was sent abroad, he started from Liu Ho Kou. During the Battle of Wusung and Shanghai in recent times the Japanese forces launched their attack on Shanghai by landing on this same place. The importance of this river and sea port may thus be witnessed. There are many other points recorded in history which are important from the viewpoint of national defense, but owing to the lack of space they will not be mentioned here.

XV. Middle Yangtze and Lake Area (荊湖區)

The middle of the Yangtze River was known in ancient times as Chin Chow (荊州). As the area abounds in lakes, it is also known as Middle Yangtze and Lake area. In Hupeh, there is Yuun Moong Lake (雲夢湖); in Hunan Tungting Lake (洞庭湖); in Kiangsi Poyang Lake (鄱陽湖); and in Anhwei Chao Lake (巢湖). The most strategic location in the whole area

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is the City of Wuhan. Operation in this area needs a fleet. In the Battle of Chih Pih (赤壁 now the two banks of the Yangtze in Chia Yui Hsien 嘉魚縣, Hupeh), Chou Yu (周瑜) met Tsao Chao's (曹操) two hundred thousand strong with thirty thousand men. In the first battle, Tsao's troops were defeated. As Chou Yu's troops were stationed south of the Yangtze, sent Huang Kai (黃蓋) to set all the boats north of the river on fire, thus making it impossible for Tsao's troops to advance south and dividing the river between Wei (魏) in the north and Wu (吳) in the south. These countries later formed the Three Kingdoms with Su (蜀) to the west. The reason for the stalemate between Wei and Wu was that the Wei soldiers were drawn from the north. While they knew how to fight on land, they knew nothing of battle on the river. In later years Wei's experience was repeated when Kin Liang (金亮) invaded the south with all the available men in his country. But he was defeated at Chai Shih.

During the Taiping rebellion, Tseng Kuo-fan (曾國藩) based all his land troops and river fleet at Wuhan in his war to regain the territory east of that city from the Taiping rebels. In the prolonged battle around this city Wuchang was lost to the Taiping men three times and Hanyang four times, but they never succeeded in taking the entire Wuhan area because they lacked the war craft at Tseng's command. Tseng had his vessels built at Hengyang and sailed them down the Hsiang River (湘江) and across the Tungting Lake to the scene of action. He had one thousand river craft. These led to the building of the Chinese modern navy.

Kiang Ling (江陵) and Siangyang (襄陽) on the Han River are two important points forming a triangle with Wuhan. Kiang Ling was formerly the capital of the country of Chu (楚). At the time of the Three Kingdoms it was an important gateway between the countries Wu and Su. Waterways radiate from here to connect with the Han River (漢水) in the north, Lake Tungting in the south, and the Yangtze Gorges in the west, thence to Szechwan.

Siangyang and Fan Cheng (樊城) are situated on opposite banks of the Han River. Since the time of the Three Kingdoms, whenever there was war between the North and the South the two cities were important border areas. After the capital moved south, Li Kang (李綱), in his attempt to recover the Central Plain, considered Kwanchung as a place of first importance, Siangyang and Nanyang (南陽) second, and Nanking third. Siangyang is so located that offensively it is in position to attack the Northwest, and defensively it offers protection to the Southeast.

The loss of the Battle of Siangyang had a great deal to do with the fall

of the Sung Dynasty. The Monoglian cavalymen swept everything before them, but they were no match to the Sung river fleet when they reached the Yangtze. Therefore, they built Peh Ho city (白河城) on the upper reaches of the Han River, where they built war vessels and trained sailors to attack Siangyang. After the latter city had been taken, they had no difficulty in defeating the Sung forces.

Nanyang is situated on the south side of Chinling and on a tributary of the Han River. Even in the time of the Spring and Autumn, it was an important place. After the people of Chu conquered this city, they entertained ambitions to conquer the Central Plain. In any war between north and south, Nanyang was an important gateway. It was through here that Han conquered Chin (秦) and the Mongolians of the Yuan Dynasty conquered the Tartars, or Kins (金人). From what he said, Li Kang practically drew a line through Siangyang, Loyang, and the West Capital (西京). This was the line to develop the Northwest. National defense in ancient times stressed the defense of the North. Therefore, most of the important strategic points were located north of the Yangtze River. As to the south of the Yangtze, it has been mentioned before that the route from Yochow (岳州) to Hengyang (衡陽) via Changsha (長沙) was an important way for communication with Kwangtung and Kwangsi from the north. At present the exit to sea from Szechwan, Yunnan, and Kweichow centers at Hunan. It can thus be seen that present Changsha is similar to Siangyang of ancient times.

Kiukiang was known in ancient times as Kiang Chow (江州). It is an important city between Wuhan and Nanking. In the north it leads to Hofei (合肥) via Anking (安慶). In the south it opens the way to Fukien and Kwangtung. Its importance for the defense of the Yangtze is only second to Wuhan.

XVI. The Central Plain

The Central Plain is the place where two ancient capitals, Kaifeng (開封) and Lopang (洛陽) were located. Chang Fang-pin (張方平) of the Sung Dynasty said: "A nation depends on its soldiers. Soldiers depend on food to live. Food depends on transportation. Transportation depends on rivers and canals." This remark may explain why North Sung had its capital at Kaifeng, because there is an endless plain near Kaifeng. It has good communication with all the places and is not blocked by high mountains or deep valleys. In ancient times, it was recognized as a good battleground.

From the point of national defense, a capital is different from a fort,

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because the latter should stress defense while the former should facilitate offense. Offense depends on good communication. As a fort Loyang seems preferable to Kaifeng. Chang Liang, however, belittled its military value, because he considered it too small and subject to attacks from all sides. The reason why the Sui Dynasty could, after having established its capital at Loyang, unify China was due to the fact that the Grand Canal had by this time been completed. In the north there was the Tung Chi Canal (通濟渠); in the south the Yung Chi Canal (永濟渠). Through these canals boats from Hangchow in the south and Cho Chuun (涿郡) in the north could sail directly to Loyang. From such a location the Sui and Tang Dynasties were able to control distant places. Even the fact that it was surrounded by four passes, it signified expansion on all sides rather than being shut in.

At the time when Kaifeng was the capital of the Sung Dynasty, there were four rivers which served for the transportation of grain to the capital. They were the Pien River (汴河), Yellow River, Hui Min River (惠民河), and Kwang Chi River (廣濟河), of which the Pien was the most important. There are the new Pien and the old Pien. The old Pien parallels the present Lunghai Railroad. It starts from Kaifeng and flows east into the Sze (泗) River and then again to the Hwai River. Its bed was once flooded by the Yellow River. Therefore, the old Pien and the old Yellow River were the same. Peng Cheng (彭城) of ancient times (now Hsuechow徐州) was an important city on the Pien. After the Tsin people moved south, the control of Peng Cheng was closely related to the fortunes of the North and the South. The place is surrounded by hills and crisscrossed by the Pien and the Sze. The immense plain surrounding it grows corn and wheat. Its strategic value lies in the fact that it is easily defendable and has excellent communication with other places. Pa Wang of West Chu (西楚霸王) fully realized its manifold advantages when he made his capital here.

The new Pien, also known as the Yung Chi Canal, was dug in the Sui Dynasty. It joined the Han Canal in the south. The Tang and Sung Dynasties continued the work of the Sui Dynasty and made the canal branch out at Kweh-teh (歸德) slightly to the south of the old Pien and utilized partly the natural waterway (i.e. the Sui 睢河) to join it with the Hwai. Hence, this canal has since become an important link in the communication between north and south. People of the Sung Dynasty considered the Pien a vitally important artery whether viewed from national economy or defense. After the Sung Dynasty had moved south, the Hwai and the Yangtze Valleys became the battleground, and the old Pien River became silted. This explained why Emperor Tai Tsu of the Ming Dynasty (明太祖) did not establish his capital at Kaifeng, though he had the first intention of doing so. Kaifeng was no longer its former self,

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Transshipping point on the Pien River in ancient times was Ngao Chang (敖倉). This was also an important strategic place. When the first emperor of the Han Dynasty wanted to give up the east of Cheng Kao (成臯) and hold Kung Lo (鞏洛) to fight Chu, Lih Sheng (酈生) said: "A sovereign regards the people as all important, and the people regard food as all important. Ngao Chang has long been the transshipping point. It is a godsend for Han." The emperor heeded Lih's advice and recovered Yung Yang (滎陽), which made it possible for him to depend on Ngao Chang for food supply, utilize the strategic advantages of the mountains and rivers, and found the Han Dynrsty.

Present Chengchow is somewhat like Ngao Chang of ancient times. During the Yuan and Ming Dynasties when the capital was in the north, the Grand Canal cut across Central Shantung. Each year four million piculs of grain from the Yangtze and Hwai Valleys were routed through this waterway.

Lower Yellow River flows through flat plains. But in the suburbs of Hsuechow, there are hills which makes the city strategically important in any war between north and south.

West of Chengchow, the terrain rises to high mountains. Hsiao Han (峣函), a mountain pass known in ancient times for its precipitous and dangerous passage, was located here. It had high mountains in the south and looks toward the Yellow River in the north. The mountains rise on two sides like walls. A footpath snakes through as if entering a deep alley. The pass was later called Han Ku Kwan (函谷關). During the Chin Dynasty, Han Ku Kwan was situated in Lin Pao (靈寶). In the time of West Han, it was moved to Hsin An (新安); and in East Han, it was moved west to Tung Kwan (潼關). Since the Sui and Tang Dynasties, the strategic area in Kwanchung was always at Tung Kwan. As was mentioned before, in their fight with the Tartars (Kins), the Mongolians, realizing that the Tartars relied mainly on Tung Kwan and the Yellow River for defense, started from Paochi and went over Chinling to invade Hanchung. They also went east to Tang Teng (唐鄧), crossed Chinling, and went straight to attack Kaifeng. This war plan was formulated by Genghis Khan.

XVII. Shantung

Shantung touches the Central Plain in the west. In the east it projects into a peninsula. The ancient Kingdom of Chi was founded here by Chiang Tai Kung (姜太公), who made it into a rich and strong state, ranking as one of the big kingdoms of the Chou Dynasty. In the northeast Chi bordered

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the sea, from which it developed fishery and salt-making. In the south it was defended by the Tai Mountains (泰山). In the west it was limited by the Chu River (濁河). Its troops fought across the length and breadth of the Central Plain to make it the leader of the kingdoms. Present Chinan, known at that time as Lieh Hsia (歷下), is an important city between the Tai Mountains and the Yellow River. Its location is somewhat similar to Nanking in lower Yangtze. If Chinan is secured together with a hold on the Grand Canal and Peng Cheng, that the north-south communication would be blocked, the Central Plain endangered, and all the places north of the Yellow River denied to the enemy. This situation took place more than once in ancient times and should be remembered by present-day strategists.

Since ancient times, defense of Shantung not only stressed the rivers but also the sea. For the Shantung Peninsula forms a triangle with the Liaotung (遼東) and Korea Peninsulas. Liaotung was separated from Shantung by a narrow gulf interspersed with the islands of the Miao Shan Archipelago (廟山羣島). In the Ming Dynasty an official by the name of Tu Sze (都司) was appointed to Liaotung as a subordinate to the governor of Shantung, because Luishun (旅順) Harbor was so near Tung Chow (登州) and Lai Yang (萊陽).

The Korea Peninsula was subject to Chinese rule for two thousand years. The culture of the Han Dynasty first spread to Korea, thence to Japan. When there was campaign in Korea, Shantung was used as the supply base. Before Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty conquered Korea, he sent General Yang Pu (楊僕) to command a fleet sailing from Shantung and General Hsun Chih (荀彘) to take the land route via Liaotung. In making preparations for an invasion of Korea, Emperor Tai Tsung of the Tang Dynasty considered that the supplies needed by a large expeditionary force could not be transported by animals and carts. Therefore, he had vessels built in Szechwan. They sailed down the Yangtze, assembled at Lai Chow (萊州), whence they set sail for the invasion of Korea.

The operations in the Han and Tang Dynasties furnished an illustration of the Sino-Japanese War of 1895 in reverse. After China had lost control of the Yellow Sea, all the sea ports in North China were lost. In explaining to his countrymen why he insisted on the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula to Japan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the then Japanese foreign minister Mutsu Munemitsu said: "The Liaotung Peninsula threatens Korea from the rear and grapples the throat of Peking. For the long-range planning of our country, we must take possession of it."

Following Japan's demand for the cession of Luishun and Dairen, Ger-

many, France, and Russia intervened by forcing Japan to return Liaotung to China. In its cable instructions to its envoys at London, Moscow, and Paris, the then German government said in part: "If the Luishun Harbor should become a Gibraltar, it will at least transform North China and the Chinese capital to be Japan's protectorate."

The loss of control of the Yellow Sea was a tragic event in Chinese history. Events from September 18, 1931, when the Japanese troops started their occupation of the Northwest to the time of the secret treaty of Yalta showed that the loss of Luishun and Dairen was the cause for the loss of the Chinese mainland to the Chinese Communists.

The Yuan Dynasty paid great attention to sea communications. Therefore, peace reigned in the sea surrounding Shantung as well as in Tientsin and Tangku (塘沽). The Chiao-Lai Canal (膠萊運河) was built to cut short the sea route around the Peninsula. At the tip of the Shantung Peninsula there are the North Chiao River (北膠河) and the South Chiao River (南膠河), both of which have their source at Peh Meh Lake (百脈湖). The North Chiao empties into the Pohai (渤海) and the South Chiao into Kiaochow Bay. They were dredged to become the Chiao-Lai Canal during the Yuan Dynasty. This is little known in modern time because of its being silted. Judging by its location it was somewhat like the Kiel Canal. It should not be neglected by those who think of coastal defense.

XVIII. Hopei and Shansi

The defense line in the Hopei and Shansi area was subjected to three changes with each change of national power. This can be best illustrated by the changes during the Sung, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties. During the unrest of the Five Dynasties, sixteen counties in this area were seized by Kitan (契丹). North Sung was divided from the Liaos (遼) by the Peh Kou River (白溝河 i.e. Chui Ma River 拒馬河), the northernmost tributary of the Ta Chin River (大清河). At this time Ho Chien (河間), Chungshan (中山 now Ting Hsien 定縣), and Taiyuan (太原) were three important cities north of the Yellow River. The defense line then roughly corresponded to the present Chuang-Shih line (滄石線) and the Cheng-Tai line (正太線). Commenting on the three cities, Yang Shih (楊時) of this time said: "The land north of the River is the emperor's important territory, and the three cities are important defenses for the land north of the River. We should swear to defend them."

The territory north of the Yellow River was greatly exposed. Even if

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it were defended by a large concentration of troops, the enemy cavalry could swoop down on them and drive through to the capital Kaifeng. The reason why North Sung fell was because its northern defenses in Hopei were in the hands of the enemy.

The present Great Wall in Hopei and Shansi was built in the Ming Dynasty. Fortifications were built at Shanhaikwan, Chui Yung Kwan (居庸關), Chang Chia Kou (張家口), and strong garrisons were stationed in them. But the territory outside the Wall was not defended, so once the Wall was attacked, the capital would feel alarmed.

When the Ching troops first attacked Liao Hsi (遼西), they were repeatedly repulsed by the Ming defense commander, Yuan Chung-huan (袁崇煥). They then allied themselves with the Mongolians and conquered Jehol and Charhar. Then they by-passed Shanhaikwan and from these directions north of the Great Wall they attacked Hsi Feng Kou (喜峯口) and Ku Peh Kou (古北口), two gateways in the Wall. Their presence so near the capital shocked the Ming court, and the Ming Dynasty soon fell thereafter.

Therefore, far-sighted strategists knew the defense of Hopei lay in the control of the territory south of the Gobi Desert. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty there were established three defense areas in Jehol and Charhar with Kai Ping (開平) in the center, Ta Nin (大寧 now Pin Chuan Hsien, Jehol 熱河平泉縣) in the east, and Hsin Ho (興和 now Chang Peh Hsien, Charhar 察省張北縣) in the west. Kai Ping, also known as To Lun (多倫), was the Shang Tu (上都 first capital) of the Yuan Dynasty. Peking was at the same time made Ta Tu (大都 meaning great capital). The two capitals were built up at the same time for mutual protection. In the middle of the Ming Dynasty, the territory north of the Wall was given up, including the three defense areas. The result was that the capital Peking was greatly exposed.

In view of this danger, Emperor Kang Hsi of the following Ching Dynasty built a summer villa at Chengteh (承德). Nominally the Ching emperors had an alternate capital at Shenyang (瀋陽), but actually the alternate capital was Chengteh. In doing this, they only followed the practice of the Yuan Dynasty.

Lin Tung Hsien (林東縣), Jehol, was formerly named Lin Huang Fu (臨潢府), capital of the Liao Dynasty. The first emperor of the Dynasty, Tai Tsu (Toba) started his career here. This and Kai Ping and Chengteh may therefore be called the three capitals outside the Great Wall. Lin Tung is situated in the southeast of the Mongolian Plateau and touches the Hopei

Plain and Kwantung Plain. Its location makes it suitable for both offense and defense. For the defense of Hopei and Shansi, the first concern should be to secure the three capitals outside the Great Wall. To recover the lost territory outside the Great Wall, one should start with the occupation of the three capitals.

Shansi Province is a plateau. Since ancient times it was known as a highly strategic place because the Taihang Range shields it in the east and the Yellow River borders it on the west. When the capital was at Changan during the Han and Tang Dynasties, they stationed a large garrison at Taiyuan (太原) for the defense of the territory north of the River. As Hopei and Shansi are closely related provinces, they are here grouped in one area.

XIX. The Kwantung Area

At the time of the Warring States, the country Yen extended its influence outside the Great Wall to the lower part of the Liao River. Korea was also subject to the influence of Yen. After Chin had conquered Yen, the latter was converted to two provinces—Liaotung (遼東) and Liao Hsi (遼西). During the Chin Dynasty, the Great Wall ran east of the Yi Wu Lui Mountains (醫巫閭), passed Kai Yuan, and then turned south to the Yalu River. The Han Dynasty maintained the wall and made extensions. Emperor Wu invaded Korea by sea and by land. The Ta Tung (大同江) and the Han River Valley was the Lo Lang Province (樂浪郡) of Han time. Modern excavations at Pyongyang uncovered relics of Lo Lang Province of this era. Among the relics was lacquer ware which came from Szechwan. This shows the extent of the Han Dynasty in the east. National defense in the northeast must take into consideration Korea and must rely on the cooperation of naval and land forces.

After East Tsin Dynasty, the Central Plain was in constant turmoil. Only when the Sui and Tang Dynasties rose had China regained the extent of territory of the Han Dynasty. At this time the state of Kao Kou Li (高句麗) became powerful. Its territory bordered Changchun (長春) in the north, Japan Sea in the east, the Han River in the south, and the Liao River and the Liao Hsi Province of Sui in the west. Emperor Yang of Sui took command of an invasion of Korea. His forces encamped on the bank of the Liao River. They fought a fierce battle on the east bank and won. They then pushed on to encircle the Liaotung City (i.e. Hsiang Ping City 襄平城 of the Han Dynasty.)

During the reign of Emperors Tai Tsun and Kao Tsun of the Tang Dy-

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nasty, there were repeated invasions of Korea. In the first year of the reign of Kao Tsun (A.D. 668) the Tang generals Hsueh Jen-kwei (薛仁貴) and Li Shih-chi (李世勣) conquered Pyongyang, as a result of which the land on the two banks of the Yalu River all came under Chinese rule, and a governor was installed at Pyongyang. The Yuan Dynasty established the Liaotung Province with its capital at Liaoyang (遼陽). When Emperor Cheng Tsu of the Ming Dynasty established his capital at Peking, he also made Liaoyang an important city of the Northeast. The Ming commissioner of Liaotung (equivalent to the commissioner of the special district) was subordinate to the governor of Shantung Province. All through the Ming Dynasty, the civil government of Liaotung was subordinate to the Shantung provincial government. The Ming Great Wall ran from Shanhaikwan to Kaiyuan and from Kaiyuan to the Yalu River. It was solidly built and good for defense.

The Fushun Pass (撫順關) was situated northeast of the city of Shenyang on the left bank of the Hwun River (渾河). Tributes to the Ching court passed through here. The Kins were descendants of the Tartars who migrated to the upper reaches of the Hwun River from the Sungari River. Their birthplace was in the neighborhood of Hsin Chin (興京). In the 44th year of Emperor Shen Tsung of the Ming Dynasty, or the first year of Emperor Tai Tsu (A.D. 1616) of Ching they established their capital at Hsin Chin and called their country Later Kin (後金). In the fourth year of Emperor Tai Tsu their forces attacked Ming's Sa Erh Hu camp (薩爾滸營 10 li from present Fushun at the confluence of the Hwun and the Su Tse Rivers 蘇子河). The opponents faced each other with forty thousand men on each side, but the Chings came out victorious. The consequence of this battle was the fall of the Ming and the rise of the Ching Dynasty. In the tenth year of Tai Tsu's reign, the capital was moved to Shenyang. In less than two years, he entered Shanhaikwan to occupy Peking and made it the capital. Shenyang was at the same time made the alternate capital. In the Russo-Japanese War, when the Japanese massed their troops at Shenyang, they also fought a decisive battle at the Hwun River. West Kwantung is the Liao River Valley plain. East Kwantung is a hilly district, where Shenyang, Liaoyang, and Fushun are situated. As they are strategically located between the hills and the river plain, they have from ancient times been used as battlegrounds. The Ming Dynasty built walls to guard the frontier. The Ching Dynasty planted willow trees along the frontier which had become more extensive than the Ming walls. From Kaiyuan to the north of Kirin a line of willows were planted. Even in the Ming Dynasty, the area in the Sungari and the Amur River Valley all belonged to China.

XX. Sungkiang and Heilungkiang

The Mongolians are usually believed to be nomads. As a matter of fact

important elements of them live in the forest. This is also true with the Manchurians. Many races in the Northeast derived their names from the euphonic rendering of the two words *Wo Chi*. Thus the *Wu Chui* (沃沮), *I Lou* (挹婁), and *Fu Yui* (夫餘) tribes of the Han and Wei Dynasties; *Wu Chi* (勿吉) *Mo Cheh* (靺鞨) of Sui and Tang, *Wu Cheh* (兀者) of Ming; and *Wu Chi* (渥集) of Ching all derived from the same roots, meaning people living in the forest. In the history of the Northeast there were Amur *Mo Cheh* (黑水靺鞨) and *Su Mo Mo Cheh* (粟末靺鞨). The former lived along the Amur River; the latter along the Sungari (formerly known as the *Su Mo River*). The latter group established their country, *Pohai* (渤海), and had developed their own culture more than a thousand years ago. The name *Pohai* was ordained by the Tang court. The king established his capital at *Lin Fu Han Hai* (臨忽汗海 present *Chin Peh Lake* 鏡泊湖, *Ning An Hsien* 寧安縣, *Kirin*). This country maintained amicable relations with Tang. Communication between the two countries was carried on mainly through present *Luishun* (旅順). Tang culture was rapidly imported, and arts and handicraft were well developed, which made *Pohai* a well-known country. It was finally conquered by *Liao*. Following it, *Kin* and *Ching* rose one after another. The *Kin* or *Nu Cheng* (女真) race descended from *Pohai*, the Manchus of *Ching* Dynasty were again descendants of *Kin*.

The *Mao Tan River* (牡丹江) Valley is a fertile area in the Northeast. It is somewhat like the source of the ancient three rivers in Outer Mongolia. The *Kitans* never came south. Their territory was limited to the north of the Great Wall. The *Kins* came south to *Hopei*, thence to *Honan*, and changed their capital often. Their army went far south into *Kiangsu* and *Chekiang* and did great damages to *Sung*. The aspiration of South *Sung* to toast for victory at *Huang Lung Fu* (黃龍府 near present *Changchun*) was not realized until the beginning of the *Ming* Dynasty. The official history of the *Ching* Dynasty said of the *Ming* territory reaching as far east as *Kaiyuan* (開元) and *Tieh Ling* (鐵嶺). In fact the *Sungari* and *Amur Valleys* were in the jurisdiction of the chief *Nu Erh Kan* (奴兒干). The latter was conquered by Emperor *Cheng Tsu* of *Ming* with a river fleet. The tribesmen of *Nu Erh Kan* were descendants of *Amur Mo Cheh* of *Sui* and *Tang*. The shipyards engaged in building the *Ming* fleet were in *Kirin*. The present capital of *Kirin* is still known as *Chuan Chang* (shipyard). In the 9th year of *Yung Lo*, the emperor sent a eunuch by the name of *Yi Shih-ha* (亦失哈) with two thousand officers and men and 45 vessels to follow the *Sungari* to *Nu Erh Kan*. Between A.D. 1411 and 1434 *Yi* was sent to *Nu Erh Kan* four times. His influence went as far as *Sakhalin* (庫頁島). A tablet established by him at *Yung Nin Temple* (永寧寺) can now be found at the *Vladivostok* museum at *Tyr*, a place at the mouth of the *Amur* across river from *Miao*

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Kai (廟街). Yi's exploration in the Northeast was as immortal as Wang Chi's expedition to Lu Chuan and subsequent development of the Southwest. Lower Amur along the Pacific coast was formerly Chinese territory. Miao Kai, now changed to the name of Nikolaeivsk by the Russians, was formerly a Chinese city situated in what the former Ching court considered as thousands of *li* of waste land. In view of the large expanse of the Northeast, the Ching Dynasty paid little attention to the entire territory. Pieces of land in the Northeast were repeatedly seized by the Russians. Hu Lan (呼蘭) and Aihun (愛珥) in Heilungkiang were colonized by military settlers in the Ching Dynasty. But they were the exclusive preserve for the Manchus, and the Chinese were not allowed to settle there. After the middle of the Ching Dynasty, farmers in Shantung and Hopei flooded to the Northeast. But it is regretted that no national defense plan guided the immigrants. So while the number of immigrants was considerable, the frontier was not thereby strengthened.

After the establishment of the Republic, China was the victim of aggression by the powers. Shortly after the Mukden Incident of September 18, 1931, the entire Northeast was occupied by the Japanese. As to the region of lower Amur, it had long since gone to the Russians. After eight years of war with Japan, the Northeast was for a short time regained by China. But the Yalta secret agreement gave the Russians an opportunity to occupy the Northeast and hand it over to the Chinese Communist puppets. Following its loss, the Chinese mainland was also lost. Now that the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship of 1945 has been declared null and void by the Chinese Government, the recovery of China's sovereignty and territorial integrity has become the paramount objective of our present anti-Communist and resist-Russia struggle. Historical accounts have the effect of bolstering up national confidence. In giving a brief account of successes and failures of past dynasties in relation to the topographic and strategic features of our country, I cherish the hope that we shall before long recover this invaluable heritage of our forefathers—our entire territory on the Chinese mainland.

The Chinese Eastern Railway

Russia's Spearhead in Her Territorial
Expansion Towards the Pacific

By *H. H. Ling** (凌鴻助)

The free world today is facing the serious menace of Communist expansion with the Soviet Union as its chief architect. Its greatest victory, of course, is the domination of the whole China mainland. And if we trace back the trend of events a little further, it becomes clear that its success in the creation and domination of the Red Chinese regime is due largely to the re-affirmation of its rights over the strategically important Chinese Eastern Railway towards the end of World War II at the Yalta secret conference.

The Russians drew up their territorial design in the Pacific many decades ago when they first attempted to build the Trans-Siberian Railway with Vladivostok on the Pacific coast as the terminal and their naval foothold. When they became aware that the seaport of Vladivostok was ice-bound during the winter months and that the construction of the section of the railway along the northern bank of the Heilungkiang presented difficult problems, they sought to create a shortcut by building a railway across Manchuria. This railway saved not only a hundred miles of track, but also enabled the Russians to exert territorial influence in China. Taking advantage of their success in forcing the Japanese out of the Liaotung Peninsula after China's defeat at the hands of the Japanese in 1894, the Russians concluded a secret agreement with the Imperial Chinese government in 1896 to build the so-called Chinese Eastern Railway as a branch of the Trans-Siberian, from Manchuri, on the border, to Suifenho, another junction, a distance of 906 miles. With this aim accomplished, they further demanded to extend a branch railway of 584 miles from Harbin towards the south in order to tap the two important ice-free ports of Dairen and Port Arthur at the tip of the Liaotung Peninsula.

* Engineer-in-chief, Lunghai, Canton-Hankow, Hunan-Kwangsi, Tientsin-Chengtu, Paoki-Tientsin Rys., 1929-1945. Vice-Minister of Communications, 1945-1949.

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When the Japanese aggression in Manchuria began to encroach upon the interests of Russia, these two countries became embroiled in a war in 1904. As a result of the war, the Russians had to retreat to the northern part of the provinces and to give up their rights to the railway south of Changchun as well as the ports of Dairen and Port Arthur in favor of the victorious Japanese.

The alarming development of Russia's plans of Asia which had startled the world before came to a temporary halt. In 1917, the situation took another turn when Russia was in the grips of a revolution. In July 1919, the new Bolshevik regime handed to China, and made known to the world, a statement abrogating all previous unequal treaties and secret agreements entered into between China and the Czarist government as well as its local authorities under military or diplomatic pressure. The statement further announced that all those special privileges obtained under pressure would be forfeited unconditionally and without reserve. These concessions were very much welcomed by the world in general and by the Chinese people in particular. The hope was raised that the Far Eastern situation would be eased by this gesture. As it turned out, nothing was accomplished in subsequent years between the two countries and the situation remained unsettled and potentially explosive until Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931.

After gaining full control over Manchuria, the Japanese began to eliminate Russia's influence and interests in that area, and using every possible means to force the Russian-controlled section of the Chinese Eastern Railway out of business. Under such pressure, the Russians had no alternative but to sell the railway rights and properties to the Japanese-sponsored "Manchukuo" in 1935 at a cash price of 140,000,000 yen.

China had to fight the Japanese in a full-scale war single-handedly for four years before Pearl Harbor in 1941. No other ally suffered such heavy loss of lives and property in the war against Japan. And yet, when victory was in sight, a secret agreement detrimental to China's territorial integrity as well as her vital national interests was signed at Yalta in 1945 by her allies. Among other things, Soviet Russia was restored the rights which she had already renounced in Manchuria and was again given joint ownership for thirty years of the Chinese Eastern Railway, including the Changchun-Dairen Section, now called the Chinese Changchun Railway.

Following her unconditional surrender in 1945, Japan gave up all her territorial rights as well as special privileges seized by force from China. The Cairo declaration provides for the restoration to China of the Island of Taiwan and the four Provinces of Manchuria.

Chinese Culture

China, as one of the allied powers, had hoped to be freed for the first time from the yoke of century-old unequal treaties as a result of her valiant effort of resistance against Japanese aggression. Instead, she was once again subjected to another era of inequality imposed by her very allies behind her back.

It is not necessary to delve deeply into the early complicated relations between China and Russia to know that Russia had clearly surrendered her rights of the southern section of the Chinese Eastern Railway to the Japanese as a result of the Russo-Japanese War and that she had already obtained a sum of 140,000,000 yen from Japan as compensation for the rest of the railway in North Manchuria. Accepting these as plain facts, what right had the Soviet Union to reclaim the privileges which she had already renounced and to demand joint ownership of that Railway? What right did the allies have to bow to Soviet demands at the expense of another ally at the time of victory over their common foe?

A railroad enterprise is in itself full of technical details which should never be overlooked no matter how complicated and urgent the diplomatic aspects may be. Before Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, there were three individual systems of railroads in that area. Besides two main lines of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Japanese South Manchurian Railway, there were over one thousand miles of railway built and operated separately by Chinese government agencies. The South Manchurian Railway, when transferred from the Russians to the Japanese, had its track gauge changed from the Russian standard 5-ft. to the Chinese standard gauge of 4'-8 1/2", making it possible for the interflow of traffic between the SMR and the Chinese National Railways. But the Russian section in North Manchuria retained its 5-ft. However, as soon as the purchase of the Russian section was completed in 1935, the Japanese-sponsored Manchukuo hastily made a move to change it all into the standard gauge. The Japanese not only merged the operations of all the railways in Manchuria into one system, they also made a drastic move in unifying and centralizing the electric communication and signalling equipment into one central-controlled system with most of the important equipment installed along the trunk line. Since the Russians wanted to single out this trunk line to be operated independently by a joint Sino-Russian organization, it would paralyze the rest of the rail lines cut off from the central nerve system.

Then there was again the matter of track gauge. Both Art. 11 and 12 of the Sino-Soviet agreement regarding joint ownership of the Chinese Changchun Railway touched upon the through rail service of Soviet military trains

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from one Soviet Station (for example, Chita) to another (for example, Vladivostok) via that whole trunk line. Since the track gauge had already been changed by the Japanese, what right did the Russians have in calling for through traffic without change of trains over the section in Chinese territory?

Of course the Soviets would never overlook such an important matter. When Russia declared war on Japan on the eve of her surrender, the Soviet army marched into Manchuria and immediately started to change the railway gauge back to the Trans-Siberian broad system. With astounding speed, the whole track gauge was changed once again from the border to as far as Harbin. Thus, the Russians were able to dispatch hundreds of their trains to Manchuria and take away all the modern and heavy industrial equipment and rich natural resources in various important manufacturing centers in Manchuria. The Red army set up a so-called Occupation Headquarters and issued orders to take away at least two thousand tons of machinery and equipment a day by using Japanese, Chinese and German prisoners as well as large numbers of skilled workers to perform the job. According to a conservative estimate, the Russian loot was worth well over US\$2,000,000,000, the greatest international robbery in history.

China, almost exhausted during the latter part of the war and troubled with internal problems, was caught unprepared when V-J day came. She was therefore in no position to do anything effective in the remote corner of Manchuria which had been isolated from the central government for 14 long years. Taking Soviet Russia as a war-time ally, besides, a Sino-Soviet treaty had just been concluded, although under heavy pressure, the best China could do under the circumstances was to consider the setting up of a working organization in this joint railway on the basis of equality and of a strictly commercial nature.

The Soviets, on the other hand, were well prepared. The negotiations and the signing of the treaty itself took place in Moscow where they had all the facilities and railway experts for consultation. It is significant to note that the period of joint ownership was set for thirty years, exactly the balance of the eighty years of concession stipulated by the first Sino-Russian Agreement of 1896. This shows that the Soviets were interested in regaining the original privileges obtained during the Czarist period and that their renunciation of special rights and privileges was just made to enlist international sympathy during the early stages of their revolution.

Arts. 3 to 7 inclusive of the new railway agreement regarding the set-

ting up of an organization, such as the appointment of Directors, nomination of Board Chairman, appointment of a General Manager, the proportioning of Chinese and Soviet personnel, etc. were almost identical to the relevant articles of the old agreement signed in 1934 between V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese representative, and Karahan, the Soviet Foreign Minister. The Soviets were shrewd enough to offer to the Chinese the post of Board Chairman, nominally the highest position, but actually just as a figurehead, and keep for themselves the post of General Manager, who actually ran the whole business.

Although the agreement was forced upon the Chinese, it should be binding on both parties. Arts. 15 and 16 of the agreement specify that each party should appoint three members of the Organizing Committee and three members of the Property-reassessment Committee within one month, and that these two committees should start work in Chungking as soon as possible so that the former committee could complete its work within one month and the latter in three months. On the Chinese side, the names of both committee members were sent to the Soviet Government within the specified period. On the other hand, nothing was heard from the Russians at the end of the stipulated time. The names of the Soviet members were submitted to the Chinese Government only after repeated requests by China. Then Russia refused to send these men to Chungking. In the meantime, Soviet troops poured into Chinese territory. They were bent on looting industrial equipment and showed not the slightest intention of honoring the agreement pertaining to the joint operation of the railway. Thus, from the very beginning the Soviets regarded the railroad agreement as no more than a scrap of paper to be thrown at their convenience into the waste basket.

Once they had got what they wanted, the Soviets avoided further negotiations on the detailed arrangements with the Chinese. Instead, they brought in the Chinese Communist troops which occupied important areas. With Soviet support, the Chinese Communists eventually brought Manchuria under their control.

It is not generally known that if the allies had not granted Soviet Russia certain concessions at Yalta, perhaps the Chinese mainland would not have fallen and the Chinese and Russian Communists would not be the serious threat to world peace as they are today.

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An Outline Of Chinese Ancient History

(中國上古史綱)

By Chang Yin-ling

Taipei: China Cultural Foundation, 1953

It will be more difficult for one to write a readable general history of China than to compile an encyclopaedia of Chinese history for sheer consultation. Late Prof. Chang Yin-ling's Outline of the Ancient Chinese History is true to the principles of general history writing. Prof. Chang was a prominent historian of modern China. He had a keen insight in choosing materials while delineating historical facts with an easy style.

Besides the author's message and three prefaces, the text of this book comprises 12 chapters. Chapter I "The Dawn of Chinese History" deals with the rise of Hsian and Chow Dynasties together with some events occurred in the Hsia Dynasty. Though some earlier traditions are traced in this chapter, we can only ascertain the Chinese civilization begins in the Hsian Dynasty for a lot of underground materials unearthed up to now lead us to such a conclusion.

Chapter II "The Feudalism of the Chow Dynasty" deals with every respect of feudalism in that era such as organization of the Chow Empire, the servitude system, the masses, cities and commerce, family system, the literati and religion. The author cited a number of inscriptions on bronze vessels to evidence the historical facts during this period. In the end of this chapter, causes of breakdown of feudalism are traced.

Chapter III "The Rule of Force of Feudal Princes" deals with the rise and exploits of the five feudal princes in the period of Spring and Autumn. Here we can get a clear picture of the character of various feudal lords, the geographic advantages and disadvantages of various states, the economic conditions and the talents they rallied in relation to their prosperity. Tze Tsan of the State of Cheng, a great statesman at the juncture previous to the Period of Warring States, is specifically treated in this chapter.

Chapter IV "Confucius and His Time" deals with the life and background of Confucius and his contributions in the fields of culture and poli-

tics. Chapter V deals with the political and economic conditions and interstate situation in the period of Warring States. Some prominent persons in this period are also depicted.

The world of thought in the Period of Warring States as dealt with in Chapter VI is the crystallization of thought in pre-Ching period. As stated in the section called "Mencius, Hsu Hsing and *Chow Kuan*", Prof. Chang considers the author of *Chow Kuan* (also called *Chow Li*) was a man of the Warring States time, coming to the world later than Mencius, who fell into the same school of thought as Mencius. "The author of *Chow Kuan* was a great scholar. By having studied the feudal system of the Chow Dynasty with available sources, he wrote *Chow Kuan* with an authenticity interwoven with his social ideals." Such a conjecture is noteworthy.

Chapter VII "Shih Huang Ti and the Ching Empire" deals with the unification of six states by Shih Huang Ti and the management of the Ching Empire. Chapter VIII "The Intervening Period between Ching and Han Dynasties" deals with the tumultuous condition at the end of the Ching Dynasty and the struggle between the Kingdoms of Chu and Han.

Chapter IX "The Development of the Great Han Empire" deals with the resurgence of Chuan-Hsien system, the relation between the Chinese and foreign tribes, the exploits of Wu Ti and his economic policies.

In Chapter X "The Learning and Political Situation in the Early Han Dynasty", the flourishing of Taoism and the authorization of Confucianism are treated. The authorization of the Confucian thought effected in the reign of Wu Ti has a great influence upon later generations. Chapter XI "Reform and Revolution" deals with the presumption of Wang's kinsmen, the rise and fall of Wang Mang's Hsin, Wang Mang's political reforms, the establishment of the East Han and its pattern of rule. Chapter XII "Rehabilitation and Decline of the Han Empire" remains unfinished.

The author originally planned to write an outline of Chinese history of 4000 years. This work was too tremendous to be taken by a single person; cooperation of other scholars was reckoned. But alas, this vast plan was disrupted with the promoter's death. Besides the book under review there were now left incomplete manuscripts of the Wei and Cheng Dynasties and only two chapters of the Northern Sung Dynasty—"The Establishment of the Sung Dynasty" and "Foreign Invasions and Political Reforms in the Northern Sung Dynasty" were finished, which were published in Nos. 4 & 5 of the *Thought and Time* monthly.

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The book under review was written with great care. Every name and every date in it are solidly grounded. Every chapter was revised again and again before the final was reached. In writing this book, the author had a mind to bring together the studies of forerunners and his own research and delineate historic facts with a story-telling style. No word-to-word original texts or textual criticism are included. Even though some texts are cited, yet with great economy. He chose the main subjects to be treated and let the events around the main subjects reduce to background or serve as side-lights. Stress is laid to social changes, contributions in the field of thought, and the character and influence of great persons.

There is some standard or system for choosing historical materials. In the first preface of the book under review the author states: "A general history should proportion its content to the importance of historic facts. A general history in epitome is a general history indeed." Prof. Chang listed five standards to measure the importance of historic facts. They are novelty, practical effect, cultural value, didactic utility, and genetic relation with present situation. Historians of old days pay much attention to didactic utility which has been more or less disregarded by modern historians.

In view of the ignorance of historical facts on the part of general public, Prof. Chang once made up his mind to write some textbooks on Chinese history. The textbooks for primary schools will be centered on great persons interwoven with great events of respective dynasty. He intended to write 50 biographies, beginning with Confucius and ending with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, of which only ten are finished. The textbooks for junior middle schools would devote to historic facts, the plan of which was not realized. His Outline of Chinese History would be for the use of senior middle schools, which was disrupted owing to the author's death on October 24, 1942. The book under review is what he left us. I would recommend this book to be read not only by students but also by every Chinese citizen.

Reviewed by Shee Sung

Translated by Lo Mou-pin

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Economic History of China

(中國經濟史)

By Chow King-sheng

Taipei, 1959, 4vols. NT\$ 250

The author of the book under review is an assiduous scholar of economics. He has been studying and teaching in the field of economic development of China for a score of years. After his publication of *A Study of Economics Based on the Principle of People's Livelihood* in 1943, he determined to write an economic history of China from the point of view of people's livelihood interpretation of history. The book under review is the fruition of seventeen years' strenuous effort. This book is quite circumstantial in scope, with a text of 900 thousand words in 4 volumes

In view of the fact that people's livelihood interpretation of history was generated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, upon which is founded the *Principle of People's Livelihood*, the author made up a mind to write his *Economic History of China* in the vein of such a conception.

Though there are several books of this kind in China, yet few convey such a conception. Moreover, some of them are interpreted with a materialistic conception of history. The author has a high regard for Mrs. Lo Hsiang-lin's *Economic History of China* which, though of the same vein as the author's, stops short by the Han Dynasty. So we can say the book under review is both comprehensive in scope and unique in spirit.

Here I do not intend to analyse this book in detail. I would only point out some of the characteristics of this book. First of all, this book is based upon the people's livelihood interpretation of history. As historical facts reveal, in the ancient times, men took up hunting and fishing as a means of living; so there was brought about an economic condition to suit such a living. Once an economic system in conformity with the life of hunting and fishing was established, then a political system and culture would follow suit in like manner; thus, a society of hunting and fishery was formed. Later on, hunting and fishing could not afford a satisfactory living, men in order to make a living entered an age of raising domestic animals. Thus, a society of raising domestic animals was resulted. After that, a society of farming; and after the society of farming, a society of commerce and industry; and so on so forth. In the course of human progress, men have been undergoing various forms of economic conditions; yet all these economic conditions are dominated by the same desire and are serving the same purpose of making a living.

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So we can say livelihood is the motivator of human activities and the foundation of a social structure. Once the way of living changes, then the structure of a society together with economic system, political system and culture thereof will undergo a change too. A history of economic development is in fact a record of human activities centering on making a living. Such a plain fact stands straight forth antagonistic to Marxian fallacy—economic system is the foundation of a society. The livelihood conception of history forms the backbone of this book, which serves as a peerless weapon in our anti-Communist struggle.

Another point to be mentioned is that the division of periods of the economic history of China as contained in this book is quite reasonable. Some may divide it into three periods as the ancient age, the middle age, and the modern age just as a general history of China will be divided. Some others may divide it into: from the pre-history period to the Han Dynasty as the primitive period; the Hsian and Western Chow Dynasties as the feudalistic period; from the Ching and Han Dynasties down to the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty as the imperialistic period, while the Period of Spring and Autumn and the Period of Warring States form the transitional period between the feudalistic period and the imperialistic period. In this book, the periods of economic history of China are divided in accordance with the economic trends and characteristics of respective age. They are: from the pre-history period to the Hsia Dynasty as the traditional period; the Hsian and the Western Chow Dynasties as the embryonic period; the Period of Spring and Autumn and the Period of Warring States as the transitional period; the Ching and Han Dynasties as the flourishing period; from the end of the Han Dynasty to the founding of the Sui Dynasty as the period of disorder; the Sui, the Tang and the Five Dynasties as the period of reconstruction, the Northern and Southern Sung Dynasties as the period of decline; the Ming Dynasty as the period of rehabilitation; the Ch'ing Dynasty as the latent period before the rise of modern economic system. From such a division we can see clearly the economic trends in any period throughout the Chinese history. Moreover, such a division is taken strictly in accordance with people's livelihood interpretation of history.

There is still another point to be mentioned. This book comprises 11 parts. In every part there is contained the economic thought and economic policies, land system, farm economics, commerce, industry, and communications, monetary system, taxation, etc., and the causes of decline of economic activities in each period propounded. The rise and fall of the economic condition is closely connected with the prosperity or privation of the people's livelihood. For people's livelihood is the foundation of a society; once the

foundation is shaken, the superstructure thereof will shake too.

As the author sorted out among the historic facts of economic development, the central theme of Confucian thought known as benevolence has a tremendous effect not only upon the political system but also upon the economic development of China. Only benevolence or love can bring about the unification and prosperity of the nation, while terror or massacre will only bring about hatred and resistance and lead to destruction.

Besides its academic value, this book purports in a measure the spirit of of the age.

Reviewed by Chiang Chung-chang
Translated by Lo Mou-pin

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Modern Political Thought in the West

(西洋近代政治思潮)

By Dison Hsueh-feng Poe

Taipei: China Cultural Foundation, 1953, 4Vols. NT\$77.00

Chinese political thought has a long history and a rich heritage. In studying the development of our own political thought, it does not mean that we need not at the same time direct our attention to the development of political thought in the West. Let it be borne in our mind that there has been for the past century a tendency toward producing a world culture out of the diverse cultures of different nations. Institutions and systems in the West have been influenced by things Chinese just as the improvement and construction of China has been accomplished through the adoption of Western methods. Indeed, the cultural distance between the East and West has become shorter and shorter. Although minor differences still remain despite the great tendency toward uniformity, the state of absolute isolation

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which existed one hundred years ago no longer exists now.

Amid today's tendency of international cultural inter-flow contemporary scholars of every country should shoulder the responsibility of introducing to the world the evolution of philosophic thought of their own country so that the background and course of development of one country may be made known to the scholars of other countries. Thus, when one nation attempts to adopt something good or beneficial from another nation, it will be on the basis of understanding the true spirit that has made that thing good or beneficial instead of solely on the basis of imitation. A universal culture, moulded together in such a manner, will be more able to fit the new circumstances of the world yet to come. What is more, mutual suspicion and mistrust among various peoples will consequently be uprooted. For the reasons mentioned above, the publication of Prof. Dison H. F. Poe's "Modern Political Thought in the West" (3rd edition) is an event of much significance.

It is not easy to make a simplified systematic narration of the long and complex history of Western political thought as it dates back from ancient Greece down to modern times. Therefore, few scholars of our country have made effort to the writing of such a book. As a matter of fact, even in the West many good volumes concerning the history of political thought of certain individuals or of certain periods have been produced, but works done in the pattern of a comprehensive history are rather rare. The late Professor Dunning devoted his whole life to accomplishing his work in three volumes which has become outstanding and unique. The work of Professors Sabine and Gettell and some others, though also very well done, could hardly match with the pioneering production of their illustrious predecessor.

It is noteworthy then that, with an unusual ability, Prof. Poe has narrated in one preliminary chapter (Chap. II) the political thought of the West covering 2000 years from Plato to Montesquieu, including all essential points and leaving out irrelevant details. Throughout the book his style is lucid and his diction precise. His presentation is so clear and systematic that readers of his work in four volumes can be spared of much unnecessary ado for groping in the dark, so to speak. It is really a great contribution to the academic field. That Prof. Poe has made painstaking endeavor in going over the original writings and in selecting his materials may well be evidenced by his elaborate footnotes as well as by his excellent translation of the quoted portions of the works of Western thinkers. It is unnecessary for me to add more words on this point.

In making Rousseau as the starting point of the modern epoch, Prof.

Poe reveals a significant intention. The hard core and chief characteristic of modern political theories and institutions is democracy. Some scholars believe that the foundation of the modern democratic system was laid in the Glorious Revolution of England. To a certain extent, this is true. Nevertheless, a careful study shows that the English Glorious Revolution was not enough to represent the overthrow of absolute power and the privileged class. The American Independence and the French Revolution are verily epoch-making events. The ideal of popular sovereignty had not grown mature until after the appearance of Rousseau's "Social Contract". Only then the privileged power of the king and that of the aristocrats were to be completely wiped out. Apparently there is sufficient reason to begin the history of modern Western political thought from Rousseau instead of from Lock.

It is my opinion that in consideration of the nature and content of philosophic thought, the Renaissance and Reformation may be said to have already started the modern period, since from that epoch on, the practice of merely making commentaries on, and quoting words from, orthodox ancient thinkers had been broken off and philosophers and scholars had begun expressing their own bold, independent and creative views. As a result, general philosophic thought began to be complicated and not simple, relative and not absolute, dynamic and not static. In comparing the history of Western thought with that of ours, many common traits can be found in the long period from ancient times down to the age of Renaissance and Reformation. But wide divergence between the East and the West began to develop after the time of Renaissance and Reformation. Hence it may be appropriate to take these two movements—the Renaissance and Reformation—as the starting point of modern times. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of matters of things political, the basis Prof. Poe adopts, that is to say, to begin from J. J. Rousseau is very accurate. I wish to submit my viewpoint to the author of the book I am now reviewing.

Prof. Poe covers in six chapters modern Western political thought since Rousseau. A full chapter is devoted to each of the following topics: Rousseau; Political Theories in the Second Part of the 18th Century; Political Theories of the American and French Revolutions; German Idealists; Reactionary Thought after the American and French Revolutions; and Utilitarianism. These are the main subjects Prof. Poe treats; and the period covered ranges roughly from 1789 to 1848. This span of 100 years meant the most difficult period for the struggle for democracy in the West. The main currents of political thought that stirred the Western world in this period were as manifold and divergent as they were vivid and extensive. A careful reader of this book will undoubtedly perceive the greatness as well as the intr-

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icacy of the real spirit of democracy. Furthermore, the reader will discover for himself that each chapter reflects the author's profoundness in knowledge as well as elegancy in style. His penetrating treatment of Rousseau's "Social Contract" and "General Will" can well rival Vaughan's commentaries on Rousseau's political thought.

In the wake of Utilitarianism in England came the movement of Socialism, which stirred up another extensive surge in the current of Western political thought. But Prof. Poe omits this movement in his book. Some critics might consider that this omission probably makes his remarkable work somewhat incomplete. As I understand, however, Prof. Poe intends to include the topic of socialism in the scope of contemporary Western political thought. It is learned that Prof. Poe originally has the plan to write another book on contemporary political theories in the West, dealing mainly with democracy, nationalism and socialism, and that he has not carried out his plan because, among other things, all his reference books kept in his private library at his home town Chang Shu were lost during the last war.

Lastly, I like to present my view concerning the author's way of presenting the theories of Western political philosophers. In writing on historically important political theorists, there are two avenues of approach. Some authors base their narrations and comments fundamentally in the light of their own subjective views. Other writers seek primarily to make objective analysis and true understanding of ancient thinkers' real views. In fact, it has long been an issue of debate as to which of these two attitudes of mind, or two ways of treatment is more appropriate. Prof. Poe adopts the latter method in his work for the purpose of making first a true presentation and then indicating some personal comments. He is loyal to Rousseau when he presents Rousseau. He is honest to Bentham when he describes Bentham. This is, indeed, Ranke's method of historical writing—a method which calls for great elaboration and is very hard to master. Prof. Poe's manner of presentation is praiseworthy; it is also in the interest of helping us more readily to learn Western political thought. For instance, his honest and detailed narration of the contents of Rousseau's thought before offering criticisms enable us to understand and appreciate the original meaning of the thinker. Such an objective attitude is very hard to cultivate, especially in the narrating of modern political theories in the West since a great deal of them are quite interrelated with contemporary Chinese political problems. Thus, if we adopt the subjective method of presenting Western thinkers, we might inadvertently submerge the true spirit of Western thought. It may be added that in the writing of Western political thought, Western authors may adopt the subjective method because of their fundamental understanding of their ancient

sages and philosophers; as for Chinese scholars, it is safer to follow Prof. Poe in his method so that they may not mislead their readers by unintentioned misrepresentation.

Reviewed by Tzo Wen Hai

Translated by Leu Chow Wen

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WCOTP Annual Report, 1959

Compiled by World Confederation of Organizations
of the Teaching Profession, Washington, D. C.

The World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP) is composed of 105 national members and numerous associate members representing millions of teachers in 60 countries. The China Education Society is one of the national members. The purpose of the World Confederation is to foster a conception of education directed toward the promotion of international understanding and good will, to enable members of the teaching profession at all stages of education to exert an influence corresponding to the importance of their social function, and to promote closer relationships between teachers in different countries.

The Confederation was founded at Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1952. Since then the Delegates have met at Oxford (1952), Oslo (1954), Istanbul (1955), Manila (1956), Frankfurt (1957), Rome (1958), Washington D. C. (1959). The assembly of Delegates of this year will be held at Amsterdam. A specific theme of prime interest to teachers is chosen each year for discussion and all members receive a questionnaire on the selected topic. The replies are studied and discussed at the Assembly of Delegates and later published in one comprehensive report.

The topic of 1959 Assembly is "Teaching Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values". As a Delegate of this Assembly, I found it of great interest to me and most Delegates were enthusiastic in discussion

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with this topic. It is really a fundamental problem of the world education and a safe way to world peace. Our world has grown much smaller in time and space, much larger in population, and more precarious in international relations. You will probably agree, however, that we live in one of the most exciting periods of history. Perhaps never before in human history have facilities and mechanics been more favourable toward interdependence and peaceful cooperation among nations. Yet we must make every effort toward helping mankind to live together in peace with one another as good neighbors. Teaching mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values is a real challenge to our thinking, to our educational practices and to the quality of our lives.

What really matters is not whether this or that country is in the East or the West, but whether each country appreciates the achievements, the ideas, the values, and the modes of others. The world is too small; all countries are interdependent. There is no pure indigenous culture, none that can remain unaffected by others. And national culture can be improved and refined by contact with the best in others. The teachers' task is to transmit to their pupils the best in their national culture. They play apart in refining that culture by leading their pupils to appreciate some of the worth-while in other cultures, and this must be done if the world is to be more prosperous, and free from the tensions which lead to war.

In this annual report you can find many valuable inspirations and suggestions for building a more prosperous and peaceful world through better education and better teachers.

Reviewed by Professor Sun Pan-cheng
Taiwan Normal University

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A READING GUIDE TO ASIA FOR TEACHERS

Compiled by

World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession

INTRODUCTION

This booklet was compiled for the eighth annual Assembly of Delegates of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP). It met in Washington, D. C., from July 31 to August 7, 1959. "Teaching Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values" was its theme.

A Reading Guide to Asia for Teachers is a highly selected listing of books dealing with the history and cultures of lands and peoples in the geographical arc from Japan to Pakistan. It does not purport to be a compilation of unexcelled and definitive studies; it is rather an introductory bibliography, geared to the special needs of the conscientious school teacher in many lands. But each of the books will furnish basic insights into, and understanding of, the history and ways of life of many Asian societies; and each, we are sure, can be read with considerable pleasure and profit.

WCOTP was formed in 1952 as a confederation of three existing international associations of teachers. Its membership now consists of over 100 national associations in 60 countries. WCOTP aims to "foster a conception of education directed toward the promotion of international understanding and good will." We sincerely trust that this booklet will help to fulfill this purpose. (Paul S. Welty, Assistant Secretary General, WCOTP)

ASIA: GENERAL

Art Treasures from the East, by H.F.E. Visser, Amsterdam, De Spiegel Publishing Co., 1954.

A handsome pictorial review of Asian art provided with informative notes. Suitable for libraries and general readers.

Appendixes

The Asia Who's Who. Hong Kong, Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance, 1957-58.

These two volumes contain basic biographical data on selected listings of important political, business, professional, and educational people in Asian countries.

L'Asie, by Pierre Gourou. Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1953.

This is a basic work covering the geography of Asia in its physical, social, and economic aspects. Valuable for general reading and reference.

Comparative Education, ed. by Arthur H. Moehlman and Joseph S. Roucek. New York, Dryden Press, 1957.

A collection of instructive essays on the development and operation of educational systems in many nations of the world. The chapters devoted to the lands of Asia are worth consulting.

East and West; Towards Mutual Understanding? by Georges Fradier. Paris, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1959. A brief but profound and thoughtful appraisal of the problems in East-West understanding and of the role played by UNESCO in promoting international friendship and communication.

The Far East; A Social Geography, by A. D. C. Peterson, 2nd ed. London, Duckworth, 1951.

A standard volume dealing with the lands, peoples, economic resources, and life of Asian nations. Of value for general reading and reference.

La Fin des Empires Coloniaux, by Hubert Deschamps. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1950.

A vigorous, balanced, and widely ranging assessment of western colonialism in Asia and Africa during the past five hundred years. Philosophy of history in the finest sense.

Games of the Orient: Korea-China-Japan, by Stewart Culin. Tokyo, Japan, and Rutland, Vermont, Chas. E. Tuttle, 1958.

A reprint of a rare classic originally published in 1895. Clear explanations and descriptions of the games of children and adults. The delightful plates and sketches of the earlier edition have fortunately been reproduced. Convenient indices.

Humanism and Education in East and West, a report published by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Paris, UNESCO, 1953.

A collection of invaluable and stimulating essays on the philosophy, role, and influences of education in Asia and the West. This is a volume in the UNESCO series on Unity and Diversity of Cultures.

Chinese Culture

The Interplay of East and West; Elements of Conflict and Cooperation, by Barbara Ward. New York, Norton, 1957.

Brief but brilliant lectures on the interacting influences of Eastern and Western civilizations throughout the course of history. Provides a unique perspective for the study of modern Asia.

Literatures of the East, An Appreciation, ed. by Eric Ceadel. London, John Murray, 1953.

Brief and lucid introductory essays on the traditional literature of the ancient Near East, Persia, India, China, and Japan. Contains also guides for further reading and listings of Asian classics available in western-language translations.

Nationalism and Communism in East Asia, by W. MacMahon Ball. Rev. ed. Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1956.

This book is fundamental for an understanding of the growth and achievements of nationalist and revolutionary movements from Japan to India. Should be in every library.

The Nature of The Non-Western World, by Vera M. Dean and others. New York, Mentor Books, 1957.

A collection of essays of unusually high caliber assessing sympathetically the tides of nationalism, revolution, and social change in contemporary Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Highly recommended.

An Outline Atlas of Eastern History, by Roger R. Sellman. London, E. Arnold, 1954.

Simple but handy outline maps clarifying the history of India, Southeast Asia, and China from the earliest times to the present. Well indexed.

The Pattern of Asia, ed. by Norton Ginsburg. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1958.

Doubtless the finest general geography of Asia available. Covering the entire continent, each region is treated by individual specialists. Numerous maps, illustrations, and selected bibliographies. Will be standard for reading and reference for years to come.

A Treasury of Asian Literature, ed. by John D. Yohannan. New York, John Day, 1956.

The best available anthology of the literature of Asia in translation.

The Wisdom of China and India, ed. by Lin Yutang. New York, Random House, 1942.

A standard collection of selections from the great literature of two Asian civilizations. Contains materials from religious and philosophical texts as well as folk tales, parables, and proverbs. A basic volume.

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JAPAN

L'Art, La Vie et la Nature au Japon, by Masaharu Anesaki. Paris, Institut International de Cooperation Intellectuelle, 1938.

Thought-provoking and sensitive, this work is an intelligible analysis of Japanese aesthetic and social values. Has the proportions of a classic.

The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi, by Fukuzawa Yukichi. Trans. from the Japanese by Eiichi Kiyooka. Tokyo, Hokuseido, 1950.

The extraordinary memoirs of a great pioneer in the introduction of modern thought and education into Japan. Provides peerless insights into the nature of Japan's adjustment to the modern age.

The Chrysanthemum and The Sword; Patterns of Japanese Culture, by Ruth Benedict. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1946.

A study of classical proportions of Japanese behavior and personality.

A fundamental work for understanding Japan and the Japanese people.

History of Japanese Education and Present Educational System, by Hugh L. Keenleyside and A. F. Thomas. Tokyo, Hokuseido, 1937.

Certainly one of the soundest and most comprehensive studies of the subject ever written. Required reading for all students of Japan and of comparative education.

An Introduction to Japan, by Herschel Webb. 2nd ed. New York, Columbia University Press, 1957.

An extremely lucid and balanced survey of Japanese history, culture, and life. Particularly suitable for the needs of teachers on all levels.

Japan; Meerbestimmtes Land, by Ludwig Mecking. Stuttgart, Frank, 1951.

An unpretentious but useful introduction to the history, geography, and civilization of Japan. Well suited for the needs of the teacher and general reader.

Japan; Past and Present, by Edwin O. Reischauer. 2nd ed. New York, Knopf, 1953.

Doubtless the best introduction to Japanese history available in a western language.

Japan; Three Epochs of Modern Education, by Ronald S. Anderson. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1959.

Clearly the most thorough and up-to-date study of the modern Japanese educational system available in a western language. Attractive illustrations and informative charts. Unusually inexpensive.

Chinese Culture

Japanese Masters of the Colour Print; a Great Heritage of Oriental Art, by John Hillier. London, Phaedon, 1954.

A convenient introduction to the art of the Japanese woodblock print. Numerous handsome plates.

Japanese Literature; an Introduction for Western Readers, by Donald Keene. London, John Murray, 1953.

Indisputably the best brief introduction to Japanese prose and poetry. Available in an inexpensive edition.

History of Japanese Religion with Special Reference to the Social and Moral Life of the Nation, by Masharu Anesaki. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1930.

The only satisfactory survey of Japanese religions from early times to the present. Considers especially Shinto and Buddhism.

Le Pauvre Coeur des Hommes, by Matume Soseki. Trans. from the Japanese by Horiguchi Daigaku and Georges Bonneau. Paris, Gallimard, 1957.

A fine and sensitive translation of *Kokoro*, one of the masterpieces of modern Japanese literature. Available also in English translations.

Windows for the Crown Prince, by Elizabeth G. Vining. Philadelphia, Lipincott, 1952.

A beautifully written and sympathetic account of the experiences of the former tutor to the present Crown Prince Akihito. A peerless depiction of education, culture, and social change in post-war Japan. Highly recommended.

KOREA

Folklore and Customs of Korea, by Hyontay Kim. Seoul, Korea Information Service, 1957.

A collection of delightful stories about Korean heroes, traditions, and customs. Richly illustrated by quaint and artistic sketches in color and in black and white. Guaranteed entertainment.

The Grass Roof, by Younghill Kang. New York, Scribner's, 1933.

The warm and moving autobiography of a youth in Korea.

Handbook of Korea, by Chae Kyung Oh. New York, Pageant Press, 1958.

An indispensable volume for understanding Korea and the Korean people. Presents basic information on a wide variety of subjects such as government, religion, education, industry, agriculture, and health and welfare.

Appendixes

I Married a Korean, by Agnes Kim. New York, John Day, 1953.

A tender love story of an American woman and her Korean husband. Provides sympathetic glimpses of village and home life in Korea after World War II.

Korea; Land of the Morning Calm, by Donald Portway. London, Harrap, 1953.

A warm and sympathetic book dealing with the various social, economic, health, and educational problems facing South Korea in the aftermath of war.

Korea Tomorrow; Land of the Morning Calm, by Kyung Cho Chung. New York, Macmillan, 1956.

A rich storehouse of information on Korea past and present. Extremely useful for general reading and reference. Maps, illustrations, and bibliography.

Land der Morgenfrische, by Max Zimmering. Berlin, Kongres-Verlag, 1956.

Brief but informative notes on the land and people. Especially useful for its account of German relations with and influence in Korea.

Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea, by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Paris, UNESCO, 1954.

Though dated in places, this report by a UNESCO Commission is a mine of information on both Korea and its educational history and system. Treats education on all levels. Inexpensive.

The Story Bag; a Collection of Korea Folktales, by So-Un Kim. Trans. from the Japanese by Setsu Higashi. Tokyo, Japan, and Rutland, Vermont, Chas. E. Tuttle, 1955.

Originally published with great success in Japanese in 1953, these favorite folk stories of Korea have luckily been translated into English. Absorbing reading for all ages. Superb illustrations.

The Yalu Flows; a Korean Childhood, by Mirak Li. Trans. from the German (Die Yalu fließt) by H. A. Hammelmann. London, Harvill Press, 1954.

Poignant reminiscences of his childhood years by a Korean doctor. Excellent for an understanding of traditional Korean manners, customs, and life.

CHINA

China, ed. by Harley F. MacNair. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1946.

One of the most useful volumes devoted to things Chinese ever published. Its many authoritative articles are concerned with such subjects as Chinese history, thought, religion, education, and literature. Has a permanent place in every library.

China: the Land and the People, by Gerald W. Winfield. New York, William Sloane, 1948.

Though this book is now dated in places, it still contains a wealth of information about social, economic, public health, and population problems. The two chapters on education are well worth reading.

China; Land und Vork, by Edmund Furholzer. Frankfurt am Main, Limpert, 1954.

A brief introduction to the history, geography, people, and culture of China. Suitable for teachers and general readers.

Confucius; His Life and Time, by Liu Wu-chi. New York, Philosophical Library, 1956.

An accurate and informative account of the life and teachings of China's greatest social philosopher. Available in an inexpensive paperback edition.

Contemporary Chinese Stories, trans. by Chi-Chen Wang. New York, Columbia University Press, 1944.

A collection of excellent stories by the leading writers of modern China. See also by the same translator: *Traditional Chinese Tales* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944),

Dream of the Red Chamber, by Tsao Hsueh-chin. Trans. from the Chinese by Chi-Chen Wang. New York, Twayne, 1958.

A skillful and artistic translation of perhaps the greatest novel in all Chinese literature. Inimitable for its depiction of traditional manners, life, and culture.

The Gay Genius; the Life and Times of Su Tungpo, by Lin Yutang. New York, John Day, 1947.

This is the delightful and brilliantly written biography of the "Leonardo da Vinci" of China. Fascinating insights into the politics, thought, literature, and art of medieval China. Worth reading and rereading.

Appendixes

The Good Earth, by Pearl Buck. New York, Pocket Books, Inc., 1958.

The peerless novel of peasant life in modern China, which won the Nobel Prize in literature for its author. Available in numerous editions and in countless translations.

Histoire de la Chine, by Rene Grousset. Paris, A. Fayard, 1947.

A popular but sound survey of the evolution of China's traditional civilization by one of the foremost French Orientalists. Emphasizes cultural and artistic achievements.

Das Jahrhundert der Chinesischen Revolution, by Wolfgang Franke. Munchen, R. Oldenbourg, 1958.

A smoothly written and carefully presented history of the unfolding of revolution in China during the past century by a distinguished scholar. Rewarding reading for both laymen and serious students.

Monkey, by Wu Ch'eng-en. Trans. from the Chinese by Arthur Waley. New York, Grove Press, 1958.

The incomparably delightful folk tale of traditional China. Superb in its allegory and satire.

Nationalism and Education in Modern China, by Cyrus H. Peake. New York, Columbia University Press, 1932.

An old but still basic study of educational developments in modern China. Presented against a background of political change and social revolution.

A Short History of Chinese Art, by Hugo Munsterberg. New York, Philosophical Library, 1949.

An appreciative survey of China's artistic heritage particularly suitable for general readers. Excellent plates.

A Short History of the Chinese People, by L. C. Goodrich. 3rd ed. New York, Harper and Bros., 1959.

This is a peerless introduction to the cultural history of China. Contains judiciously selected illustrations, excellent maps, and a discriminating bibliography. Required reading.

600 *Millions de Chinois Sous le Drapeau Rouge*, by Robert Guillain. Paris, R. Julliard, 1957.

This is a sober and dispassionate appraisal of Communist China by a veteran French journalist. The author's other works on developments in modern Asia are also outstanding.

Chinese Culture

Soviet Russia in China; a Summing-Up at Seventy, by Chiang Kai-shek. New York, Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957.

Reminiscences by the leader of the Republic of China.

Strange Vigour; a Biography of Sun Yat-Sen, by Bernard Martin. London, Heinemann, 1944.

A sound and well balanced biography of the "Father of the Chinese Revolution." Worth reading.

Tschingis-Chan und Sein Erbe, by Michael Prawdin. Stuttgart, Dt. Verl.-Anst., 1957.

A popular but thorough study of the growth and decline of the great Mongol Empire of medieval times. Absorbing reading for all ages.

The United States and China, by John K. Fairbank. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958.

Unsurpassed as a succinct and dynamic interpretation of Chinese history and society from ancient to present times.

Venetian Adventurer; Being an Account of the Life and Times and of the Book of Messer Marco Polo, by Henry H. Hart. New York, Bantam Books, 1956.

A beautifully written and wonderfully entertaining study of the life and adventures of the great Venetian traveller in the East.

The Economic Resources and Development of Formosa, by Norton S. Ginsburg. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1953.

Though slightly dated, this modest work is one of the handiest surveys of the island's modern economic history.

Formosa Under Chinese Nationalist Rule, by Fred W. Riggs. New York, Macmillan, 1952.

Probably the soundest study of the record of the Chinese Nationalist government on Formosa in the years immediately after World War II. Useful bibliography.

HONG KONG

Hong Kong in its Geographical Setting, by S. G. Davis. London, Collins, 1949.

One of the most convenient summaries of the history and geography of Hong Kong. Especially noteworthy for its assessment of the social situation and of economic problems and resources.

Appendixes

Hong Kong in Picture and Story, by John and Veronica Stericker. Hong Kong, Tai Wah Press, 1954.

Numerous photographs and background notes on life and affairs on the island. Serviceable for classroom purposes.

TIBET

Caravane Vers Buddha; un Français a Travers la Haute-Asie, by Andre Migot. Paris, Amiot-Dumont, 1954.

Enlightening glimpses of Tibet and its people by an observant traveller and gifted writer. Beautiful illustrations.

Fest der Weissen Schleier; eine Forscherfahrt durch Tibet nach Lhasa, der Heiligen Stadt des Gotteskönigtums, by Ernst Schafer. Braunschweig, Vieweg, 1949.

A popular, entertaining, but sound account of life, customs, and religion by a veteran traveller in Tibet. Unusually fine illustrations.

Segreto Tibet, by Fosco Maraini. Bari, Edizioni "Leonardo da Vinci", 1951.

One of most sensitive and illuminating of the almost countless travelogues on Tibet. Attractive illustrations.

Sieben Jahre in Tibet; Mein Leben am Hofe des Dalai Lama, by Heinrich Harrer. Wien, Ullstein, 1952.

The fascinating and exciting adventures of an Austrian in Tibet. Presents well informed observations upon Tibetan government, religion, and customs. Richly illustrated. Available in various translation.

Tibet, by Pietro Francisco Mele. London, Allen and Unwin, 1957.

A volume of superb photographs of land, people, and places in Tibet. A handy work for teachers and libraries.

Tibet and the Tibetans, by Tsung-lien Shen and Shen-chi Liu. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953.

A sound and thorough study of Tibetan history, society, and culture. Will be standard reading for years to come.

Young Days in Tibet, by Tsewang Y. Pemba. London, Jonathan Cape, 1957.

Reminiscences of his boyhood by a Tibetan educated in his homeland and abroad. Provides particularly fine notes on family life, social and religious customs, and schooling in Tibet.

SOUTHEAST ASIA: GENERAL

Educational Progress in Southeast Asia, by J. S. Furnivall. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943.

This is a standard comparative study of the development of educational systems and policies in the lands of Southeast Asia before World War II. Contains bibliography for further readings.

Minority Problems in Southeast Asia, by Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1955.

This is a sound and sympathetic study of the principal minority ethnic groups in Southeast Asian countries. A basic volume.

South-East Asia Between Two Worlds, by Tibor Mende. London, Turnstile Press, 1955.

A hard-hitting and unvarnished appraisal of the political and economic problems and prospects of the many new states of South and Southeast Asia. Particularly useful for the study of Indonesia, Burma, and Pakistan.

South-East Asia; a Short History, by Brian Harrison. New York, St. Martin's, 1954.

This is a standard survey, which is especially enlightening for its analysis of the impact of the West upon Southeast Asia.

Die Sudostasiatische Inselwelt, by Karl Helbig. Stuttgart, Frank'sche Verlaghandlung, 1949.

A lively and acute account of the lands, peoples, and resources of island Southeast Asia by an experienced traveller and geographer.

THE PHILIPPINES

An American Doctor's Odyssey, by Victor Heiser. New York, W. W. Norton, 1936.

The remarkable autobiography of an American public health official whose years were devoted to the elimination of disease in Asia. The chapters on the Philippines are stirring.

Essentials of the Philippine Educational System, by Florencio Fresnoza. Rev. ed. Manila, Abiva-Publishing House, 1957.

This is perhaps the most thorough and comprehensive study of the Filipino school system available. Will be standard reading for years to come.

Appendixes

History of the Philippines; Economic, Social, Cultural, Political, by Conrado Benitez. Rev. ed. New York, Ginn, 1954.

A standard history of the Philippines. Rounded and comprehensive, its value is enhanced by its detailed treatment of both the pre-American and the American periods.

Peoples of the Philippines, by H. W. Krieger. Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1942.

A modest but useful brochure. Extremely helpful as an introduction to the various ethnic groups of the archipelago.

The Philippine Story, by David Bernstein. New York, Farrar, Straus, 1947.

A most interesting and unusually objective treatment of the Philippines covering the period from the annexation by the United States to the achievement of independence.

VIET NAM, CAMBODIA, LAOS

A Dragon Apparent: Travels in Indochina, by Norman Lewis. London, Jonathan Cape, 1951.

Acute observations of the land, peoples, and customs in Viet Nam and Cambodia by a veteran traveller and writer.

Histoire de L'Indochine, by Andra Masson. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1950.

A reasonably objective study of the countries of Indochina during the French colonial period. Highly recommended.

Histoire du Viet-Nam, de 1940 à 1952, by Philippe Devillers. Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1952.

A detailed but nevertheless clear and authoritative study of the Vietnamese struggle for freedom and independence.

Little China; the Annamese Lands, by Alan H. Brodrick. London, Oxford University Press, 1952.

First-hand sketches of social life and customs, religion and art, by a sympathetic observer. Deeply informative.

Little Vehicle; Cambodia and Laos, by Alan H. Brodrick. London, Hutchinson, 1949.

A fitting supplement to the author's earlier review of eastern Indo-China. Contains interesting illustrations and detailed bibliography.

Chinese Culture

Pour Mieux Comprendre Angkor, by G. Coedes. Hanoi, Imprimerie D'Extreme Orient, 1943.

A basic study of the magnificent civilization of medieval Cambodia and of its breath-taking architectural creations. Highly recommended.

A Short History of Cambodia, by Mertin F. Herz. New York, Praeger, 1958.

A brief and uncomplicated review of Cambodian history from the earliest times to the present. Ideal for the beginner.

The Smaller Dragon; a Political History of Vietnam, by Joseph Buttinger. New York, Praeger, 1958.

A fairly detailed but nevertheless clear exposition of the history of Viet Nam from antiquity to our day. Excellent bibliography.

THAILAND (SIAM)

Anna and the King of Siam, by Margaret Landon. New York, Pocket Books, Inc., 1956.

This charming and moving novel, based upon the actual experiences of an English teacher and governess at the court of Siam in the nineteenth century, has deservedly become a classic.

My Boyhood in Siam, by Kumut Chandruang. New York, John Day, 1940.

The fresh and unsophisticated recollections of his childhood and adolescent years by a wellborn Siamese. Intimate depiction of home, school, and social life.

Siam Under Rama III, 1824-1851, by Walter F. Vella. Locust Valley, New York, J. J. Augustin, 1957.

A competent study of an extremely fascinating period in early modern Siamese history. Provides a superlative background for the reading of the famous *Anna and the King of Siam*.

Thailand; das Neue Siam, by Wilhelm F. Gordon. Leipzig, W. Goldmann, 1942.

A handy compendium of the history, geography, culture, resources, and economy of Siam. Suitable for general reading and reference.

MALAYA

The Chinese in Malaya, by Victor Purcell. London, Oxford University Press, 1948.

This is a basic study of the history, life, role, and influence of Malaya's extremely large Chinese community.

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The Malays; a Cultural History, by Sir Richard Winstedt. Rev. ed. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950.

One of the best brief summaries of Malayan government, society, economy, culture, and the arts. Basic.

The Peoples of Malaysia, by Fay-Cooper Cole. New York, Van Nostrand, 1945.

Indispensable as an introduction to the diverse ethnic groups of Malaya and surrounding lands. Convenient plates, maps, and bibliography.

The Schools of Malaya, by Frederic Mason. Singapore, Donald Moore, 1957.

This is a careful review of the development, facilities, and policies of the multi-ethnic school systems in both Malays and Singapore. Highly recommended.

A Short History of Malaya, by G. P. Dartford. London, Longmans, Green, 1958.

A compact and very readable survey of Malayan history from the earliest times to the present. Contains simple maps and fine plates.

SINGAPORE

A History of Singapore, by Harold F. Pearson. London, University of London Press, 1956.

This is a brief and popular review of Singapore written especially for the lay reader. Excellent for students in the middle and higher grades.

Raffles of Singapore, by Reginald Coupland. London, Collins, 1946.

A standard and fast-moving biography of the founder of the British Empire in Southeast Asia.

INDONESIA

Adat Law in Indonesia, by B. Ter Haar. Trans. from the Dutch by E. A. Hoebel and A. A. Schiller. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948.

This is a basic study of the traditional and customary law of the people of Indonesia. Indispensable for an appreciation of social behavior and practice.

The Ageless Indies, by Raymond Kennedy. New York, John Day, 1942.

A worthy introductory work ranging over the principal aspects of Indonesian society, life, and culture. Especially helpful for teachers and general readers.

Herrijaend Azie; Opstellen over de Oosterse Samenleving, by W. F. Wertheim. Arnhem, van Loghum Slaterus, 1950.

A brief but incisive analysis of Dutch colonialism and its implications for the development of a free and stable society in post-war Indonesia.

From Illiteracy to University: Educational Development in the Netherlands Indies, by Raden Lockman Djajadiningrat. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944.

A short but highly informative appraisal of the pre-war educational system.

Indonesia; Land of Challenge, by Margueritte Bro. New York, Harper and Bros., 1954.

A popular and sympathetic account of modern Indonesia's achievements and problems since the acquisition of independence. Particularly useful on social life and customs.

The Island of Bali, by Michael Covarrubias. London, Cassel, 1937.

Unquestionably the most delicate treatment of Bali's religion, art, drama, and customs ever written. Required reading.

Mens en Vrijheid in Indonesie, by G. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze. The Hague, van Hoeve, 1950.

A competent study of the problems and issues in the Indonesian struggle for national independence.

Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia, by George McT. Kahin. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1952.

Has no peer as a thorough and objective study of the Indonesian struggle for national independence. Necessary reading on the subject.

The Republic of Indonesia, by Dorothy Woodman. London, Cresset Press, 1956.

A sober and penetrating assessment of contemporary Indonesia. In addition to providing a review of the archipelago's history, it presents rich material on recent political, social, economic, and educational conditions. Good critical bibliography.

Schets ener Economische Geschiedenis van Neerlands-Indie, by G. Gonggrijp. 2nd ed. Haarlem, De Erven F. Bohn, 1949.

This is a basic study of the economic development of the East Indies by the Dutch. Valuable for an understanding of the peasant and plantation economies.

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Tanah air Kita; a Book on the Country and People of Indonesia, by N. A. Douwes Dekker. The Hague, van Hoeve, 1950.

A handsome folio volume of several hundred artistically executed photographs. A rich pictorial treat of Indonesia, the land, the life, and the people.

BURMA

Burma, by D. G. E. Hall. London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1950.
This is a brief but satisfactory introduction to the history of Burma. Covers the period from antiquity to the present.

Golden Earth; Travels in Burma, by Norman Lewis. New York, Scribner's, 1952.

A popular and smoothly written travelogue providing colorful background on people and places in Burma. Exquisite illustrations.

A History of Modern Burma, by John F. Cady. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1958.

This is clearly one of the most satisfactory histories of Burma ever written. Concentrates especially upon the modern period. Invaluable for general reading and reference.

Modern Burma, by J. L. Christian. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1942.

This work is generally deemed to be one of the best all-round treatments of Burma in modern times.

INDIA

An Autobiography or the Story of my Experiments with Truth, by Mohandas K. Gandhi. Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1945.

The reminiscences of the incomparable spiritual and political leader of modern India. Vital for an understanding of his life and thought.

Le Bouddha et la Bouddhisme, by Maurice Percheron. Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1956.

Provides a brief sketch of the life of the Buddha and a summary of his teachings. Useful for the beginner.

Caste and Class in India, by G. S. Ghurye. 2nd ed. Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1957.

This is perhaps one of the most careful and sensible studies of the Hindu caste system in the tremendous literature of the subject.

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The Development of Modern Indian Education, by Bhagwan Dayal. Bombay, Orient Longmans, 1955.

Extremely serviceable for reading and reference on Indian educational developments since the achievement of independence in 1947.

The Discovery of India, by Jawaharlal Nehru. Signet Press, 1946.

Interpretative reflections upon the historical and cultural heritage of his country and people by the distinguished political leader.

The Financial Expert, by R. K. Narayan. East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University Press, 1953.

A masterful novel of life and hope in a South Indian town by one of modern India's foremost writers. This book is "must" reading.

Folk Toys of India, by Ajit Mookerjee. Calcutta, Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 1956

A collection of exquisite colored plates illustrating the folk dolls and toys of traditional India. Fascinating study for children and teachers.

India Changes! by Taya Zinkin. New York, Oxford University Press, 1958.

An extremely symyathetic view of modern India's social, economic, population, and health problems by a long-time resident of the country. Poses sharply the many conflicts between the traditional heritage and the modern age.

India, Pakistan, and the West, by Percival Spear. 2nd ed. London, Oxford University Press, 1952.

A fair and objective survey of Indian history and civilization. Fpecially serviceable as an introduction.

Indian Village, by S. C. Dube. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1955.

Exemplary as a clear introductory study of the Indian village. Relatively uncluttered by sociological jargon, it may be read with profit by the generally interested student.

Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization, by H. Zimmer. New York, Pantheon Books, 1946.

Presents an impressive and discerning interpretation of forms and ideals in traditional Indian art. Plates are of extremely high quality.

Nectar in a Sieve, by Kamala Markandaya. New York, New American Library, 1956.

A touchingly tender story of life, and struggle in a South Indian village. May be read by adults aed adolescents.

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New India's Rivers, by Henry C. Hart. Bombay, Orient Longmans, 1957.

The fascinating story of India's struggle against nature through the centuries as seen in the development and use of irrigation works. Recommended for students, teachers, and scholars.

The Panchatantra. Trans. by Arthur W. Ryder. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1925.

An incomparable translation of a collection of wonderful folk tales and proverbs of traditional India. Indispensable for all students of Indian culture and values.

The Sikhs, by Khushwant Singh. London, Allen and Unwin, 1953.

This book presents a clear and concise history of the growth of the Sikh religion and a fine and unencumbered exposition of its teachings and customs. Unsurpassed for the beginner.

Voyage aux Indes, by Andre Siegfried. Paris, Armand Colin, 1951.

Penetrating observations on Indian society and culture by a world-famed French journalist. Useful for an understanding of recent problems.

CEYLON

Ceylon, by Sydney D. Bailay. London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1952.

A compact but informative survey of the history of Ceylon, with emphasis upon the modern colonial period. Probably the most useful introductory study available. Basic bibliography appended.

Ceylon, Pearl of The East, by Harry Williams. London, Robert Hale, 1951.

A wide-ranging review of the history, society and economy of Ceylon, emphasizing developments of the past century.

NEPAL

East of Katmandu, by Tom Weir. Fair Lawn, New Jersey, Essential Books, 1956.

Rambling but sharp and instructive notes on the land and people of Nepal by an observant traveller. Enlivened by many tasteful illustrations.

Education in Nepal, by the Nepal National Education Planning Commission. Katmandu, Nepal, College of Education, 1956.

A comprehensive report on the present state and problems of education on all levels in Nepal. Also contains copious information on Nepalese life and culture. Numerous illustrations.

PAKISTAN

Folk Tales of Pakistan, compiled by Zainab Ghulam Abbas. Karachi, Pakistan Publications, 1957.

A fine collection drawn from the rich store of folk tales of both East and West Pakistan. Unusually striking illustrations.

Jinnah; Creator of Pakistan, by Hector Bolitho. London, John Murray, 1954.

A straightforward and unadorned biography of the great leader of the Muslims of India and founder of the state of Pakistan.

The Making of Pakistan, by Richard Symonds. London, Faber and Faber, 1951.

Not only provides a good summary of the development of Pakistani nationalism but covers clearly the establishment and early years of the state of Pakistan.

Modern Islam in India; A Social Analysis, by W. C. Smith. and ed. London, Gollancz, 1946.

This is a sound and fundamental study of the political and intellectual revival of Muslims in India in the past half century and more.

Poems From Iqbal, by Muhammad Iqbal. Trans. by V. G. Kiernan. London, Murray, 1955.

Artistic translations on diverse themes from the works of an outstanding Indian Muslim poet and scholar. Lyrical, philosophical, and polemical.

A LIST OF TRANSLATED WORKS

—done under the sponsorship of Chinese Translation Society in cooperation with the World Classics Translation Committee of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China—

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Chinese Culture

- 中國文化論集(二冊) 張其昀等著 44.00
本書為宏揚我國固有文化，由專家分任撰述，對我國文化特質、學術思想、典章制度、文學藝術，以及對外影響，作系統之鑽研。共載論著二十九篇。
- 孔學論集(二冊) 陳大齊等著 44.00
本書內容以闡揚儒家學說為主，共收論文二十六篇，都三十餘萬言。
- 中國學術史論集(四冊) 錢穆等著 98.00
本書由七十位學者合撰，共收論文七十篇，都一百萬言。其內容為先秦儒學以至宋明理學之要義，乃至中國固有之教育與法律等；對當代思潮之淵源脈絡，均作精詳透闢之闡述。足以表現近年來國人學術研究之努力；並藉此集體貢獻，對 總統七秩慶典，共伸祝賀之忱。
- 中國哲學史論集(三冊) 黃建中等著 54.00
本書包括專論十七篇，闡釋我國儒、墨、道、法各家哲學思想之體系大要，而於老莊道術，詮論尤詳。
- 中國政治思想與制度史集論(三冊) 張其昀等著 63.00
本書共收論文三十一篇，闡述我國政治哲學之本原，各家政治思想之精義，以及各項政治制度之概要。
- 中國革命史論集(三冊) 于右任等著 62.00
本書一名「國父九十誕辰紀念論文集」，為紀念 國父九秩誕辰，由于右任先生等執筆合撰，內容以宏揚三民主義之學說思想，與革命建國之光榮事蹟為主。全書凡六十八篇。
- 中國外交史論集(二冊) 黃正銘等著 42.00
本書收載論文三十四篇，分述我國與世界各國之外交關係，史料珍貴，信實可徵。
- 中國戰史論集(二冊) 張其昀等著 42.00
本書共收論文十九篇，分述我國歷代重大戰役成敗興亡之史實，及其可歌可泣之事迹。

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| 中國科學史論集 (二冊) | 林致平等著 | 40.00 |
| 本書包含論文十五篇，於我國科學研究之過去業績及未來發展，作系統之介紹。 | | |
| 中國佛教史論集 (三冊) | 章嘉等著 | 77.00 |
| 本書為紀念釋迦牟尼二千五百年誕辰，宣揚我國佛教文化，由專家分任撰述，對我國佛教哲學、各宗派史論、佛教與我國文化等，均有精詳之論述。全書共收論文二十八篇。 | | |
| 中國文學史論集 (四冊) | 張其昀等著 | 96.00 |
| 本書由國內學者集體撰著，包括論文百篇，就我國歷史上著名文學家一百人，分篇加以論述。 | | |
| 中國美術史論集 (三冊) | 虞君賢等著 | 63.00 |
| 本書分二十二篇，對我國美術之起源，歷代美術之發展，以及現代美術之趨勢，均有精詳之論述。 | | |
| 中國音樂史論集 (二冊) | 戴粹倫等著 | 40.00 |
| 本書收載論文九篇，歷述周、秦、漢、唐、明、清各代音樂之沿革，並討論我國雅樂、樂舞、音律及現代國樂等問題。 | | |
| 中國歷史地理 (三冊) | 石璋如等著 | 69.00 |
| 本書共收論文十五篇，分篇敘述我國歷代疆域劃分、人口分布、社會經濟、教育學術等概況，對我國沿革地理作系統之研究。 | | |
| 邊疆文化論集 (三冊) | 凌純聲等著 | 63.00 |
| 本書收載論文二十一篇，分別研究我國各邊疆民族之社會組織、歷史文化。 | | |
| 臺灣文化論集 (三冊) | 林熊祥等著 | 65.00 |
| 本書由專家集體著作，對臺灣土著源流、開發史實、建省經過、歷史人物與教育文化等，分篇論述，闡發至詳。全書三十一篇。 | | |
| 國史上的偉大人物 (二冊) | 張其昀主編 | 42.00 |
| 本書旨在發揚我國固有文化與民族精神，所撰均為歷史上最可紀念之偉大人物，始自黃帝，迄乎清末，全書預計六冊，已出版兩冊。 | | |
| 中國歷代大學史 | 李宗侗等著 | 17.00 |
| 本書由名教授學者執筆，內收論文九篇，對於我國歷代大學教育之發展，沿流討源，論列至詳。 | | |
| 中日文化論集 (二冊) | 劉百閔等著 | 34.00 |
| 本書共收論文十八篇，對中日兩國文化關係之歷史淵源，作有系統之撰述，以發揚東方文化之新精神。 | | |

Appendixes

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| <p>中日文化論集續編 (二冊)</p> <p>本書係繼續「中日文化論集」而編，闡述中日兩國之文化淵源與歷史關係；附錄民國以來中日關係大事年表，及中央圖書館藏日本叢鈔漢籍目錄，至便參考。</p> | <p>張其昀等著</p> | <p>46.00</p> |
| <p>中韓文化論集 (二冊)</p> <p>本書共收論文二十五篇，對於中韓兩大民族之歷史關係及文化淵源，本專門之研究，作詳盡之敘述；附錄三種，彙輯有關中韓兩國之重要書目，甚便查考。</p> | <p>董作賓等著</p> | <p>44.00</p> |
| <p>中越文化論集 (二冊)</p> <p>本書內容以闡揚有關越南之學術思想、文物制度，及中越間文化交流之史實為主，附錄我國關於越南著述目錄，尤便查考。</p> | <p>郭廷以等著</p> | <p>39.00</p> |
| <p>中泰文化論集</p> <p>本書敘述泰國的文化、教育、宗教、禮俗、中泰關係，以及華僑對泰國的貢獻，附錄中國關於泰國著述目錄。</p> | <p>凌純聲等著</p> | <p>25.00</p> |
| <p>中土文化論集</p> <p>本書為慶祝中土簽訂文化專約而作，內分十篇，對中土兩大民族之歷史、政治與文化關係，論述甚詳，並附錄中國有關土耳其之著述目錄。</p> | <p>周宏濤等著</p> | <p>20.00</p> |
| <p>中義文化論集</p> <p>本書蒐集論文十八篇，敘述義大利之歷史、地理、人物、藝術，以及中義兩國關係，至為詳盡。</p> | <p>劉文島等著</p> | <p>22.00</p> |
| <p>孔子學說與現代文化 (二冊)</p> <p>本書主旨即在說明中國文化為東方抗共精神堡壘之真正基礎，從而闡述孔學與我國當前民族復興及文藝復興之關係，宗旨正大，議論透闢。全書除前言外，分為十四章，都四十萬言。</p> | <p>張其昀 著</p> | <p>42.00</p> |
| <p>民主憲政與中國文化 (二冊)</p> <p>本書收集專論十六篇，詳述民主憲政與中國文化之關係。國父嘗謂中國所當求之於西洋者，為科學而非政治哲學，以言政治哲學，西洋還當求之於中國。著者博綜文獻，加以印證。</p> | <p>張其昀 著</p> | <p>34.00</p> |
| <p>民族文化概論</p> <p>本書闡發中華民族之潛德幽光，抉出我國文化之微言大義，敘述國民革命之歷史背景，昭示三民主義之哲學根據，為研究民族文化之專著。</p> | <p>蕭一山 著</p> | <p>21.00</p> |
| <p>儒家形上學</p> <p>本書包括專論九篇，即緒論、名學、宇宙一元論和二元論、宇宙變化論、實體論、儒家思想中的神宇、理學的人論、心理學、理學的道德論等。對儒家形上學之精蘊，作深邃之研究。</p> | <p>羅 光 著</p> | <p>24.00</p> |

理則學

張鐵君 著 20.00

理則學是 國父對於邏輯學的譯名。本書從 國父哲學觀點，闡述理則學的理論體系，不僅統一了科學方法與哲學方法，並且融貫了墨家名家以及程朱陸王的唯精唯一思想；而歸本於儒家的執兩用中主義，是一部研究 國父理則學之專著。

Chinese Classics

詩經釋義(二冊)

屈萬里 著 39.00

本書為集解性質，以現代眼光，擇取前人研究所得要實可信之成果，及近年金文甲骨文之資料，而加以簡明注釋。舉凡門戶之見、迂腐之說，概予廓清。全書分兩冊，第一冊為十五國風；第二冊為小雅、大雅及頌。書首敘論一篇，於詩經內容流變，作一扼要介紹，至便初學；書末附有古器物圖等，尤屬精審。

尚書釋義

屈萬里 著 21.00

本書以今文尚書二十八篇為主，博採衆家注釋，而間下以著者己意。書首冠以敘論，詳述今古文學派，以及真古文、偽古文之源流；書末附錄尚書逸文、書序、偽古文尚書三種。注釋精詳，便於研讀。

周易新解

曹昇 著 14.00

本書參考先儒易學精華，融會貫通；闡明周易原理及其變化之法則，並論六十四卦之涵義，以發揚倫理哲學，尤為治易之津梁。

四書釋義(二冊)

錢穆 著 39.00

本書分兩冊：第一冊為論語要略；第二冊為孟子要略及大學、中庸釋義。於論、孟、學、庸四書之精言要義，闡釋無遺。

科學的學庸

蔣總統 著 6.00

本書包含 總統「大學之道」及「中庸之要旨與軍事基本學理」講詞兩篇，於修己治人成德立業之要道，剴切訓示。附錄朱熹大學、中庸章句集注原文，以資鑽研。

論語話解(二冊)

陳潛述 16.00

本書係清人陳潛根據朱熹集注，對論語加以白話注解；並經潘重規、高明等先生加以新式標點，明白曉暢，淺顯可讀。

孟子分類纂注(二冊)

王偉俠編著 35.00

本書上下兩編：上編詳述孟子生平事略，及其學術思想；下編係孟子本文，分類纂輯，各章標明旨趣，並加注釋。

荀子學說

陳大齊 著 21.00

荀子為儒家大師，其學說頗有創見，對於名學，尤多貢獻。本書先求得荀子學說之基本觀點，以見其根本主張；復將散見各篇之義理，彙合敘述，以見其學說全貌。體系嚴整，闡述翔確。

Appendixes

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| 老子章句新編 (二冊) | 嚴靈峯 著 | 42.00 |
| <p>本書依五千言之體要，採各家之長，對老子一書之章句、錯簡、挽文、衍誤，詳加校訂；並按道體、道理、道用、道術四目，重分章句，共五十四章。前冠原道一篇，概論老子學說要旨；末附王弼本老子道德經原文，暨校改後全書白文等。</p> | | |

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| 老子章句新編纂解 | 嚴靈峯 著 | 17.00 |
| <p>本書按照著者前撰「老子章句新編」一書體系，采「以老解老」方式，逐句詮釋；並摭撫歷代名家注解，輾轉互證，以明老子本旨。</p> | | |

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| 墨學概論 | 高葆光 著 | 20.00 |
| <p>墨子為我國古代哲學家、政治家及科學家。本書闡發墨學精義，見識卓越，時出新解，篤實精湛，堪稱善本。</p> | | |

Works of Dr. Sun Yat-sen & President Chiang Kai-shek

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| 三民主義要義 | 唐振楚 編 | 11.00 |
| <p>本書謹自 國父與 總統著作中，選錄論述三民主義專文二十一篇，凡十二萬言。</p> | | |

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| 民族主義要義 | 唐振楚 編 | 11.00 |
| <p>本書謹自 國父與 總統著作中，選錄論述民族主義專文二十一篇，凡十二萬言。</p> | | |

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| 民權主義要義 | 唐振楚 編 | 11.00 |
| <p>本書謹自 國父與 總統著作中，選錄論述民權主義專文三十七篇，凡十二萬言。</p> | | |

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| 民生主義要義 | 唐振楚 編 | 11.00 |
| <p>本書謹自 國父與 總統著作中，選錄論述民生主義專文三十四篇，凡十二萬言。</p> | | |

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| 國父演講選集 | 唐振楚 編 | 11.00 |
| <p>本書選輯 國父重要演講二十三篇，凡十一萬言。</p> | | |

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| 國父書信選集 | 唐振楚 編 | 11.00 |
| <p>本書選輯 國父重要書信一百七十篇，凡十二萬言。</p> | | |

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| 總統言論選集 (四冊) | 秦孝儀 編 | 44.00 |
| <p>本書謹自 總統於民國十三年六月至四十二年三月，所發布書告訓詞中，就其具有普及性、代表性與切合國民基本知識者，分類選輯，精校而成。首編分四冊：第一冊政治，選載二十三篇；第二冊軍事，三十四篇；第三冊教育與青年，二十六篇；第四冊哲學與科學，十七篇。合計百篇，凡一百萬言。總統重要言論，燦然明備。</p> | | |

Chinese Culture

- 總統言論選集續編** 秦孝儀 編 11.00
本書係上接「總統言論選集」繼續編選，計選載 總統自民國四十二年三月至四十三年二月，所發布書告訓詞，凡十四篇，都十二萬言。
- 總統言論選集三編** 秦孝儀 編 6.00
本書選載 總統自民國四十三年三月至四十四年十二月，所發布書告訓詞，凡二十篇，都六萬言。
- 總統言論選集四編** 秦孝儀 編 11.00
本書選載 總統自民國四十五年一月至四十六年五月，所發布書告訓詞十一篇；暨「反共抗俄基本論」等專著三篇，都十二萬言。
- 總統言論選集五編** 秦孝儀 編 8.00
本書選載 總統於民國四十六年三月至四十七年六月間，所發布訓詞三篇、書告六篇、談話十七篇，計二十六篇。與前選各集，同條共貫，可資合讀。

- 國父學說與西方文化** 林子助編著 25.00
本書根據「國父全書」，將 國父所徵引西方學者及有關人物，分為十四類，每一人物，按其姓氏，撰為小傳；詳考其生卒年代及學說事蹟，而以 國父評述原文，繫諸其後。敘述賅要，考證縝密，為研究 國父學說與西方文化淵源之津梁。

- 蔣總統傳（三冊）** 董顯光 著 35.00
本書著者董顯光先生，隨侍 總統為時最久，對 總統為革命建國而奮鬥之功績，了解亦最深刻。本書以現代傳記學之體裁，融貫極為珍貴而多未經發表之資料，成為五十萬言之鉅著。全書三冊，自抗戰以後，以至最近反共抗俄時期，所述尤為詳贍。 蔣總統的傳記，也就是中國的歷史，故本書亦可作為中華民國艱難締造的一部史綱來讀，其價值之高，可以概見。

Chinese History

- 中國史學史** 李宗侗 著 21.00
我國史學綿長，史籍浩瀚。本書敘述歷代史書修撰經過，列舉其著者卷帙，明示其體例方法，而間加考證，於史學源流，委婉詳盡。
- 中國民族史** 羅香林 著 25.00
本書綜述中國民族之發展過程，內容包括：中華民族的長成、歷代治亂的因果、中國文化的演進、重要武器的發明、中國社會的演進、歷代人才的消長、對外交通的發展、各種宗教的傳播等專題八篇。文章流暢，條理清晰。
- 中國思想史** 錢穆 著 25.00
本書以簡括透闢之文字，指出中國思想之深厚淵源，抉發中國思想之偉大精神；於中國思想之發展演變，探抉隱奧，勝義迭出。

Appendixes

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| <p>中國政治思想史 (六册)</p> <p>本書採政治學觀點，用歷史方法，略述我國晚周以來二千五百餘年間，各家政治思想之大概。敘述客觀，論評公允。</p> | <p>蕭公權 著 119.00</p> |
| <p>中國政治制度史</p> <p>本書分七章，首論我國政治制度之起源與發展，以下各章對歷代君主制度、丞相制度、中央各部制度、地方行政制度、監察制度、文官制度之演進，逐項闡述甚詳。</p> | <p>曾繁康 著 25.00</p> |
| <p>中國文官制度史</p> <p>本書分兩編：第一編緒論，對中國文官制度之特質與發展，作綜合之評論；第二編本論，就文官制度內容，分為考選、品級、俸給、考績、銓選、監察諸大端，逐一研討。本書引述歷代史實，間加扼要評語，堪稱史論與史事並重之專著。</p> | <p>張金鑑 著 22.00</p> |
| <p>中國古代社會史 (二册)</p> <p>本書以圖騰與姓之研究為中心，由此推論宗族與邦國各方面；並將中國古代社會，與希臘、羅馬古代社會及近代初民社會，作比較研究。</p> | <p>李宗侗 著 42.00</p> |
| <p>中國軍事史略</p> <p>本書分為六章，即兵役與兵制、軍政與軍令、兵源與將才、兵器與軍資、軍區與政區、地略與戰略；以文化史為背景，以國防觀念為核心，而闡明兵民合一與文武合一之原理。</p> | <p>張其昀 著 20.00</p> |
| <p>中西交通史 (五册)</p> <p>本書為中國與歐亞大陸各國之關係史。起自上古，迄於清代中葉，近自南洋東南亞，遠至歐非兩洲，舉凡民族之遷徙、宗教之傳佈、科學之交流、藝術之影響，商貨之交易、政治之關係，莫不詳加敘述。全書七十萬言，史料廣博，考證精密，洵為史學鉅製。</p> | <p>方 豪 著 125.00</p> |
| <p>中國目錄學史</p> <p>本書分十二章，首章緒論，詮釋目錄、目錄學、目錄學史之定義；第二至十一章，分述歷代藏書目錄及史志；末章擇要敘述專科目錄及特種目錄。</p> | <p>許世瑛編著 22.00</p> |
| <p>先秦教育思想</p> <p>本書分六章，闡述我國先秦時代道、儒、墨、法各家教育思想，並與近代教育理論，互相印證。</p> | <p>余書麟 著 24.00</p> |
| <p>宋明理學概述 (二册)</p> <p>本書擷取宋明理學之精華，對宋元明諸家思想系體，作客觀之敘述，並闡發其在思想史上之貢獻與地位，為研究宋明理學必不可少之階梯。全書分兩冊，第一冊為宋元諸儒；第二冊為明儒。</p> | <p>錢 穆 著 37.00</p> |
| <p>比較中日陽明學</p> <p>本書內分六篇：前三篇述陽明學說體系，王學衰落原因，兼論哲學與經學之同異；後三篇述日本陽明學之興起與特色，其於日本開國與明治維新之貢獻，而結論中日王學之合作。</p> | <p>張君勱 著 17.00</p> |

- 中國文化東漸研究** 梁容若¹ 著 22.00
 本書蒐羅中外文獻，研討我國文化對日本之影響。全書分兩篇，上篇為專題研究，多能詳人所略，足以補正東土學人及我國撰著之闕失；下篇則敘述我國文學與史學之貢獻於日本者，係譯自日本清木正兒及加藤繁兩位博士之著作，而加以箋注補充。
- 中國書畫源流** 呂佛庭 著 22.00
 本書綜論中國書畫之起源及演變，對中外現存歷代重要書畫畫蹟，加以評述；並著明作者生平，藉以闡明各家各派淵源紹緒之關係。內容豐富，論評允當。
- 正史論贊(四)** 宋 晞 編 100.00
 本書節錄歷代正史論贊原文，並加序說，俾便覽觀。第一冊自史記至晉書，第二冊自宋書至北史，第三冊自隋書至新五代史，第四冊自宋史至明史。不特文筆優美，且為一代得失之林，千秋興亡之鑑。
- 中國上古史綱** 張蔭麟 著 25.00
 東莞張蔭麟先生，為我國著名史學家，於中西學術均有深遠之研究。本書原名「中國史綱」，為其未竟遺著，析述我國東漢以前史實，體例精嚴，材料翔實。
- 中國上古史八論** 黎東方 著 21.00
 本書收集史論八篇，分論我國戰國以前歷史，所敘以現有史料為本，而疏通知遠，衡鑑允當，行文尤為曉暢。
- 先秦史** 黎東方 著 20.00
 本書敘述我國遠古及春秋戰國時代之歷史，文筆優美，敘事精詳。
- 秦漢史** 勞 榦 著 25.00
 本書對秦漢兩代重要史實、文物制度、學術信仰、物質生活，以及蜀漢興亡，莫不概列無遺。敘述史事，簡潔扼要。
- 魏晉南北朝史** 勞 榦 著 20.00
 本書凡九章，歷述三國、兩晉、南北朝之政治變遷，以及南北朝之經濟、學術、兵制等。
- 隋唐五代史** 傅樂成 著 21.00
 本書分十二章，對隋唐五代時期之政治變遷、對外關係，以及各種制度之淵源演進，均有論列。取材除正史外，並包括近代學者之研究心得。
- 唐史(一)** 章 羣 著 22.00
 本書預計分成三冊，首冊敘唐代沿革，次冊載唐代政制，三冊言唐代藝文。茲先出版第一冊，於李唐一代興亡史實，詳加論述。
- 宋史(二冊)** 方 豪 著 46.00
 本書分兩冊：第一冊凡九章，敘北宋史實，並及宋代之官制、軍隊、文風；第二冊凡十三章，述南宋

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史事，並及宋代之賦稅、財政、專賣、貨幣、人口、交通、城市、學術等。篇首各附史地圖表多幀。

清 史 蕭一山 著 25.00

本書敘述有清一代近三百年間之史蹟，考訂精覈，見解卓越。

中國近代政治史 張效乾 著 21.00

本書撰述，起自明末清初，以迄抗戰勝利，共歷三百餘年。內分十二章，於近代政治嬗遞、對外條約交涉、辛亥革命、北伐抗戰等重要史實，提要鉤玄，作簡明論述。

中國近代法制史 楊幼炯 著 22.00

本書論述我國近四十餘年來之法制，而於中華民國憲法之制定與實施，以及行憲後立法院之組織職權、立法程序與重要法典編纂工作，所述尤詳，俾國人對近代法律，就其立法精神與時代潮流，作有系統之瞭解。

中國近代外交史（一） 方 豪 著 22.00

本書敘述我國近代外交史實。第一冊起自鴉片戰爭前之中英交涉，迄於美國倡議門戶開放政策。中外史料，融於一爐，足供參考。

孔 子 年 譜（二冊） 許同萊 編 34.00

本書依據六經平實之言，兼采崔東壁、林春溥二氏考訂之長，按年繫事，輯為年譜兩卷。對史記孔子世家及關里誌年譜記載舛訛處，頗有訂正；而於諸子百家之語涉虛誕者，概從屏棄。書末附有孔子弟子考及孔門師弟年表，尤為精詳。

陶淵明評論 李辰冬 著 21.00

本書分章論述晉陶淵明之作品、個性、時代背景、藝術造詣，及其在文學史上之地位。附錄「新編陶靖節集」，係將陶詩繫年，重新編次而成。

蒲 壽 庚 傳 羅香林 著 22.00

本書對蒲壽庚之家族淵源與行實事跡，有詳盡之考證。全書十二篇，附錄兩篇，並附有蒲氏家譜及圖片多幀。蒲壽庚為宋末元初之一關鍵人物，讀此書不僅有助於時代之了解，且對東西文化交流可增進認識，為極有趣味之書。

鄭 和 評 傳 徐玉虎 著 21.00

明永樂年間，鄭和出使南洋，先後七次，國威遠播。本書敘述鄭和家世、宗教信仰、出使經過，及其對於後世之影響。資料豐富，考據精詳。

曾 國 藩 傳 蕭一山 著 21.00

曾國藩為近代史上重要人物。本書就曾氏之家庭環境、學術背景、思想體系，以及事業功績，抉發至為精詳。

華僑名人傳（一） 祝秀俠主編 20.00

本書分篇記述海外先僑林鳳、孫眉公等二十人之德業言行，及其奮鬥事蹟，信而有徵。

Contemporary China

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| 中華民國內政誌 (三冊) | 高應篤等著 | 67.00 |
| 本書論文十三篇，分述民國以來我國各項內政措施概況。專家執筆，擇精語詳。 | | |
| 中華民國科學誌 (三冊) | 李熙謀主編 | 84.00 |
| 本書一名「中華民國學術志」，由專家執筆撰著，對民國以來我國各科學術發展之過程，作有系統之介紹。內容計分人文學、社會科學、自然科學、工學、農學、醫學、商學等七類，共計收集專門著述四十七篇。 | | |
| 中華民國科學誌續編 (三冊) | 李熙謀主編 | 70.00 |
| 本書廣續「中華民國科學誌」編成，內容敘述民國三十八年政府遷臺以來，各科學術之發展概況，共收論文四十九篇，照前仍分七類，都五十萬言。 | | |
| 中華民國大學誌 (二冊) | 張其昀等著 | 45.00 |
| 本書為教育界同人執筆合撰，內容記載民國成立以來，各主要公私立大學之組織概況、辦學精神，及其對於國家社會之貢獻，所述至足徵信。 | | |
| 中華民國教育誌 (二冊) | 吳俊升等著 | 44.00 |
| 本書共十七篇，分別由專家執筆。民國建立以來，我國教育政策與學制，各種教育之史實與發展，均有詳盡之論列。 | | |
| 中國教育現況 (四冊) | 施建生等著 | 56.00 |
| 本書對民國四十七年間，我國各種教育實施概況，予以系統報導，內分高等教育、中等教育、國民教育、社會教育、國際文教等五篇，都五十萬言。 | | |
| 新教育論集 (六冊) | 張其昀 著 | 121.00 |
| 本書係就著者近年有關教育、學術、文化之論著選集，內分十八類，凡百餘篇，近百萬言。 | | |
| 中國教育學術與文化 | 林子助等著 | 27.00 |
| 本書報導民國四十三年間，我國各項教育設施、學術思想、文化建設的進步實況，至便查考。 | | |
| 中華民國史綱 (七冊) | 張其昀 著 | 98.00 |
| 本書所敘述之史料，包括思想史、政治史、人物史三部分：三民主義理論之發展，是為思想史；建國方略之實行，於以創造國史、開拓國運者，是為政治史；六十年來革命先烈犧牲奮鬥、可歌可泣之事蹟，是為人物史。全書內容，即由此三者綜合聯綴而成，而尤以思想史為核心；使 國父「知難行易」的學說，與 總統「力行哲學」的精義，得到具體的證明。 | | |
| 中華民國創立史 | 張其昀 著 | 13.00 |

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本書敘述，起自光緒二十年甲午中日戰爭，迄於民國四十一年度反共抗俄總動員之實施。近六十年來，國父與總統先後領導革命、創立民國悠久光榮之歷史，提要鉤玄，萃於一編。

中華民國行憲史(二冊) 劉錫五 著 42.00

本書敘述民國三十七年至四十三年六年間，我國中央制度實施憲政之業績。內容悉依憲法次第，分述國民大會、總統、行政院、立法院、司法院、考試院、監察院之法制組織，並對其成就得失，有所論列。

三民主義的理論(二冊) 張其昀 著 22.00

本書共六章，二十萬言。首述三民主義與中國文化；次述三民主義與建國規模；以下分章論述：民族主義——民有學說，民權主義——民治學說，民生主義——民享學說；最後就當前反共中興時期之中心理論，闡述新觀念與新號召。

五權憲法解說 田炯錦 著 6.00

本書以淺明通暢之筆法，對五權憲法之精義，作透徹詳盡之解說。

中國國民黨六十年奮鬥史略 張其昀 著 5.00

本書略述中國國民黨六十年來，領導國民革命艱難奮鬥的歷史，分為創造民國、護法、北伐抗戰、反共中興四個時期，加以扼要闡述。

建國原理 張其昀 著 11.00

本書分為八章：即發揚民族文化，建設現代社會，提倡科學研究，注重工業發展，鞏固民衆組織，確立政治制度，喚起國防觀念，促進國際合作。各章內容均就當代重要文獻，加以整理發揮，期為中興建國大業，指出明確的理論與一貫的系統。

三民主義模範省之建設 張其昀 著 7.00

本書根據國父遺教與總統訓示，說明三民主義模範省之宏綱細目，就心理、教育、學術、文化、倫理、經濟、社會、政治、國防等九項建設，分章論述，條理燦然，可供國人參考。

新竹縣實驗免試升學之成果 梁宗鯤編著 15.00

本書報導國校畢業生免試升學方案，在新竹縣實驗三年的真相。對實驗經過、學生程度、校舍師資、經費負擔、各方反應、施行成果，詳加分析研討。

中國憲法的理論體系(二冊) 羅孟浩 著 40.00

本書闡揚我國憲法理論，舉凡國家體制之規模、人民權利之保障、政治制度之確立，以及基本國策之措施等，逐項加以分析，並詳論其利弊得失。

中國土地改革新論 潘廉方 著 24.00

本書首先說明土地問題之本質，各派土地改革學者之理論，以闡述國父平均地權之真義；其次分析我國古今土地制度變革之背景、內容及成效；最後對臺灣土地改革今後應採步驟，及光復大陸後土地政策，提供明確之方案。

現代中國貨幣制度 趙蘭坪 著 22.00

本書對清末民初以來，我國各項貨幣制度之發展經過，及其演變之前因後果，條分縷析，論述至詳。

邊疆問題與邊疆建設 張遐民編著 22.00

本書凡十二章，先述邊疆地區之劃分，邊疆各民族之沿革，過去邊政設施之得失；繼述邊疆自然環境及經濟資源，並對邊疆未來建設，提供實施計劃，為研究邊政之要籍。

中國與國際法（四冊） 湯武 著 91.00

本書根據我國法律習慣，闡明國際法之原理與規律，並對國際法之解釋與適用，作縝密之研討。關於臺灣法權之光復，反共義士之歸國，匪共海港之關閉，中蘇友好條約之廢止，英蘇承認匪共之非法，以及合法政府在聯合國之地位等等問題，考證論斷，至為詳確，足正世人視聽。

美國文化與中美關係 張其昀 著 22.00

本書著者昔年旅美考察，博綜文獻，輔以實察，特別注重其教育與政治之本原，以及中美關係之文化背景。致力甚深，網羅宏富。約二十萬言，為國人研究美國文化之鉅著。

中華年報（一八冊） 中國新聞出版公司主編 640.00

本年報對民國四十一年至四十六年國內一般實況、臺灣經濟建設、大陸匪情、國際情勢，作概括清晰之報導。計分十八冊：四十一年四冊，四十二年六冊，四十三年五冊，四十四年、四十五年、四十六年各一冊。

Chinese Geography

中國地理學研究（一） 張其昀 著 22.00

本書詳述我國現代地理學研究之總成績，內容分十三章，即地圖學、地球物理學、地文學、氣候學、水理學、海洋學、生物地理學、人類地理學、經濟地理學、政治地理學、歷史地理學、方志學、地理學史。

中國之自然環境 張其昀主編 20.00

本書內容分述我國之地質、地形、氣候、土壤、植物、森林、礦產等，各章均由專家執筆，取精用宏，為研究我國自然地理重要參考書之一。

中國地形（二冊） 丁龍驥 著 44.00

本書八章，第一、二兩章述我國地質地形史要，第三章述我國山脈構成，以下五章分述各區域地形概況。

中國海洋 朱祖佑 著 22.00

本書分章敘述我國沿海形勢、海底狀況、海水性質、海流與波浪、潮汐、海洋氣象及海藻生物等，為發展航海事業及開發海洋資源必讀之書。

Appendixes

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| <p>中國河川誌 (二冊)</p> <p>本書分成七編，各由水利專家分任撰著，舉凡我國各大河川之流域、水文、水道、水患、水利等，均詳加論列。</p> | <p>宋希尙等著</p> | <p>42.00</p> |
| <p>中國海港誌</p> <p>本書記敘我國沿海及內河各重要港口，每港詳載其自然環境、港埠設備、貿易概況及工程計劃等項，並附以詳明地形水文圖，尤具特色。</p> | <p>王 洸 著</p> | <p>28.00</p> |
| <p>中國人口</p> <p>本書分十一章，說明人口學上一般概念和各種人口現象，而尤著重於我國人口事實和人口問題之陳述，以及我國現有人口統計資料之檢討。</p> | <p>龍冠海 著</p> | <p>21.00</p> |
| <p>中國都市 (二冊)</p> <p>本書首論都市之形成、類型、興衰及其分佈，以下分區陳述我國各都市之發展史實、形勢交通、政治經濟，並羅列其名勝古蹟。其於臺灣都市，所記尤詳。</p> | <p>程光裕 著</p> | <p>42.00</p> |
| <p>中國農業資源 (三冊)</p> <p>本書檢討我國農林漁牧生產現況，以及有關問題。內容包括農業自然環境、農村經濟與社會狀況、土地制度及其改革、農業區域與土地利用、災害防治、糧食與衣著原料之生產消費、畜產水產與森林、農產品貿易、農業教育研究與推廣、農業資源利用之改進等項。對臺灣之土地改革、農會組織、糧食與糖業等，論述尤詳。</p> | <p>沈宗瀚 著</p> | <p>75.00</p> |
| <p>中國礦產資源 (二冊)</p> <p>本書對我國礦產資源，作正確完備之介紹。內容包括地質與礦產、動力資源、金屬礦、非金屬礦四編，計四十三章，並附各種礦產分布圖表多幀，均極精審。</p> | <p>陳秉範 著</p> | <p>50.00</p> |
| <p>中國漁業 (二冊)</p> <p>本書對我國漁業發展簡史，各省漁業概況，水產資源分布，以及今後漁業建設，均有翔實之論述。附載漁業資源圖表數十幅，尤屬珍貴資料。</p> | <p>張寶樹 著</p> | <p>42.00</p> |
| <p>中國工業 (三冊)</p> <p>本書凡十七篇，分別報導我國各項工業建設概況及其未來展望。</p> | <p>張茲閣主編</p> | <p>63.00</p> |
| <p>中國交通 (二冊)</p> <p>本書首為導言，以下依次分為運輸與通信兩部門，對我國交通事業各項建設及未來遠景，廣徵博引，綜合論述。</p> | <p>柳克述主編</p> | <p>42.00</p> |
| <p>中國區域志甲編 (二冊) 乙編 (二冊)</p> <p>本書釐定全國為二十三個地理區域，各區就其地形、水利、氣候、物產、人口、語言、都市、交通、風俗、歷史等要素，參伍稽考，綜合論述。</p> | <p>張其昀 著</p> | <p>80.00</p> |

Chinese Culture

中國歷史地圖集(二冊)

程光裕 編著
徐聖謨

42.00

本書分爲兩冊，第一冊列入我國歷代疆域、都會、水道、交通、戰役地圖七十六幀，套色精印，清晰異常。第二冊對歷代疆域之變遷、都會之興衰、水道之疏鑿、對外交通之開拓，以及重要戰役之經過，詳加說明。左圖右史，便於觀覽。

新方志學舉隅——遵義新志

張其昀主編

21.00

本書一名「遵義新志」，計十一章，附圖二十二幀，對於貴州省遵義縣之地質、地形、氣候、土壤、人口、聚落、土地利用、產業、交通、民族、史蹟諸項，本實地之考察，作系統之論述，可爲新方志學起一凡例。

東北九省地誌(一)

王益厓 著

22.00

本書首爲總論，敘述我國東北遼寧、安東、遼北、吉林、松江、合江、嫩江、興安、黑龍江九省之自然環境與人文環境；次爲各論，說明各省之地質、氣候、地形、土壤與土地利用、產業與資源、人口與聚落、區域地理等。

臺灣新志

楊錫福等著

25.00

本書研討臺灣之自然現象，內載論文八篇，分由專家執筆，內容各有專精，體例力求一致，爲臺灣省志權威之作。

臺灣山地紀行

程兆熊 著

18.00

本書著者於民國四十四年八月赴臺灣山地考察，由臺中出發，遍歷山岳區域。本書紀載山地之自然景色與風俗人情，至饒趣味。

中國歷代地方行政區劃

楊予六 著

28.00

本書對我國歷代地方行政區之劃分，作系統之敘述。內容分七章，自先秦以迄近代，一一溯源探流，明其演變，足供治學及施政之參考。

地緣政治學(二冊)

陳民耿 著

42.00

本書分十一章，綜論地緣政治各項因素，以及國力消長之地理背景，資料豐腴，論述縝密。

Chinese Literature

中國語文研究

周法高 著

20.00

本書收集論文十一篇，說明我國語言文字之特性，介紹過去語文研究之成績，並對今後研究方法與努力方針，有所商榷與貢獻。

文學概論

洪炎秋 著

22.00

本書分十二章，首先討論文學之定義；進而闡明文學之特質、要素、起源、種類與背景；然後分別就詩歌、小說、戲曲、散文、駢文各種體裁，加以研析；最後爲文學批評。

Appendixes

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| 文學新論 (二冊) | 李辰冬 著 | 34.00 |
| <p>本書凡十五章，首論文學研究法，文學的本質與價值，文學的內容與形式，文學與社會政治的關係，中國文學史分期等問題；繼述民生史觀文學論，從整個人生的發展來看文學的發展，以深刻認識文學的全貌：是一部有價值的文學理論。</p> | | |
| 中國語音史 | 董同龢著 | 25.00 |
| <p>本書分十一章，說明我國各時代語音系統、古今語音演變，及其特徵。從國語音系起，上溯至上古音系止。</p> | | |
| 中國韻文概論 (二冊) | 傅隸樸 著 | 40.00 |
| <p>本書共九章，分論詩經、楚辭、賦、樂府、古詩、唐詩、宋詞、元曲、白話詩，對各體韻文考證其沿革演變，並提示其寫作方法，俾讀者於我國韻文，獲一完整而有系統之了解。</p> | | |
| 詩 選 | 戴君仁 編 | 25.00 |
| <p>本書選擇嚴謹，注釋精審。自漢迄唐，都六百首。沿波討源，宗變俱在。為愛好文學者，遺興良伴。</p> | | |
| 唐詩三百首詩話薈編 (二冊) | 彭國棟 纂 | 48.00 |
| <p>「唐詩三百首」為清乾隆年間蘅塘退士所選，久已膾炙人口。本書依照蘅塘原本，於每首詩下，擇要加以注釋，並繫以有關詩話或掌故，徵引宏博，考訂精詳。</p> | | |
| 宋 詩 選 | 戴君仁 編 | 25.00 |
| <p>本書選入宋詩三十八家，附金一家，都五百首。附有作者小傳與注解，間采前人詩評及詩話，以助誦覽。</p> | | |
| 詞 選 | 鄭 騫 編 | 25.00 |
| <p>本書選注唐、宋詞四百餘首，各種風格，兼收並錄，不立宗派；並附有作者小傳，及前人評語。該備周至，會心愜當。</p> | | |
| 續 詞 選 | 鄭 騫 編 | 21.00 |
| <p>本書為「詞選」之續編，選錄金、元、明、清各家作品，凡三百五十餘首，並附有各家小傳、評語錄要及注釋，均極精當。</p> | | |
| 曲 選 | 鄭 騫 編 | 25.00 |
| <p>本書專選散曲，按體裁時代，分編五卷：卷一元明北小令，卷二元人北套數，卷三明人北套數，卷四明人南小令，卷五明人南套數。所選概以醇雅為主，取舍精嚴，注解明晰。</p> | | |
| 中國詩史 (二冊) | 葛賢寧 著 | 42.00 |
| <p>本書歷述三千年來，我國詩歌變遷發展之迹，著重各代詩歌內容與實質之分析，並就其所涵民族、民權、民生之思想，加以闡發。</p> | | |

- 中越緬泰詩史** 彭國棟 著 22.00
 本書包括中越詩史、中緬詩史、中泰詩史三篇，附錄東南亞雜詩一篇，都十餘萬言。於中、越、緬、泰，文化交往，詩教流傳，使節酬唱，名家漢詩，廣為搜輯，並加論評。
- 中國散曲史（二冊）** 羅錦堂 著 34.00.
 本書內分四章，首章為散曲概論，說明散曲之起源、形製及特質；以下三章，歷敘元、明、清三代散曲之演變發展。條理密察，為研究我國文學史之要籍。
- 中國戲劇史** 鄧綏寧 著 20.00
 本書分篇敘述我國戲劇之起源，歷代戲劇之演變與發展，而於國劇目前概況，報導尤詳。
- 國劇要略** 齊如山 著 3.00
 本書略述我國國劇的特點，首先說明國劇劇本的結構及其意義；以下討論國劇演法，分就聲音、動作、衣服、鬚鬚、器物、臉譜等項，逐一論列。
- 中國小說史** 葛賢寧 著 21.00
 本書分十四章，敘述兩千餘年來我國小說的演變和發展，除分析其藝術形式外，並著重其思想與精神，以闡明我國小說之特質。
- 唐代傳奇研究** 祝秀俠 著 20.00
 本書分八章，首述唐代傳奇之形式、演變、及其在文學上之地位；繼論唐代傳奇成長之因素；以下分析唐代傳奇之內容，並探討其所產生之社會背景。
- 現代戰鬥文藝選集（二冊）** 虞君質主編 49.00
 本書精選國內作家近年發表富於民族意識及時代精神之文藝作品，凡五十八篇，分為小說、散文、詩歌、戲劇四類，內容或寫後方克難生產，或寫前線英勇戰鬥。
- 鳳凰的新生** 葛賢寧 著 22.00
 本書是一部現代史詩，分十八卷，凡八千五百餘行。咏出百年來人類精神發展的歷程，及四十年來共產主義者為禍世界的罪行，而結以中西文化的會合，為人類文化的新生。對 蔣總統的真知灼見，備極贊揚，於美國領導自由民主世界，亦有所稱道。
- 于右任歌選** 于右任 著 5.00
 本書精選于右任先生詩歌若干首，並由李中和先生製譜，歌詞慷慨雄壯，可供一般學校及部隊作為音樂教材。
- 春歸何處** 虞君質改編 21.00
 本劇為五幕八場倫理悲劇，內容描述一劇人之不幸故事，以暴露漢奸與共匪的殘暴行為。曾由中華實驗劇團在臺北市演出，極獲好評。

Appendixes

論戰鬥的文學。

葛賢寧 著 20.00

本書共八章，首敘戰鬥文學之定義、種類及產生因素；繼述中西文學之戰鬥精神；再論反共文學之戰鬥任務；最後為幾種錯誤觀念之糾正。

Chinese Art

草書通論

劉延濤 著 20.00

本書對於我國文字之演進，草書之起源與制作，草書各派系作家作品及其盛衰演變，均有精詳之論述。

中國歷代書法選

梁 楷等作 36.00

本書精選歷代名書法家之代表作品，自籀篆以至隸楷行草，凜然駭備，筆精墨妙，蔚為大觀。

中國歷代名畫選

顧愷之等作 50.00

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中國美術攝影專輯

郎靜山等作 40.00

本書選輯名攝影家郎靜山先生等所作美術攝影照片百餘幅，風景、人物、花卉、蟲魚、鳥獸，各盡其妙。

祖國風光(二冊)

中國新聞出版公司編 68.00

本書選輯我國大陸各省市風景圖片二百三十幅，各圖並附簡要說明，以仿銅版紙精印。圖文並茂，選印優良。

Bibliography

圖書版本學要略

屈萬里 合著 22.00
昌彼得

本書分四卷：卷一前篇，述我國歷代書籍名稱形制，及與雕板術有關諸問題；卷二源流篇，述雕板源流；卷三鑒別篇，述板本鑒別；卷四餘篇，略舉考訂善本圖籍應用參考書，以及板本術語年表；附錄圖板二幅，足供參閱。

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中華民國出版圖書目錄(四冊)

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本書所著錄之圖書，以民國三十八年政府遷臺後，在臺灣出版之書刊經送中央圖書館收藏者為限；香港自由出版界之刊物，寄送該館入藏者，亦一併列入。已出版四冊：民國四十四年六月份以前入藏者為第一冊，七至十二月份入藏者為第二冊，四十五年入藏者為第三冊，四十六年間入藏者為第四冊。分類周洽，極便查閱。

近百年來中譯西書目錄

中央圖書館編 25.00

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民國學術論文索引

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本書所收論文，以文哲史地為主，分隸總論、哲學、經學、史學、地理、語言文字學、文學、民族學與民俗學、考古人類學、圖畫及文獻十類，類下又列若干細目，至便檢索。

近十年教育論文索引

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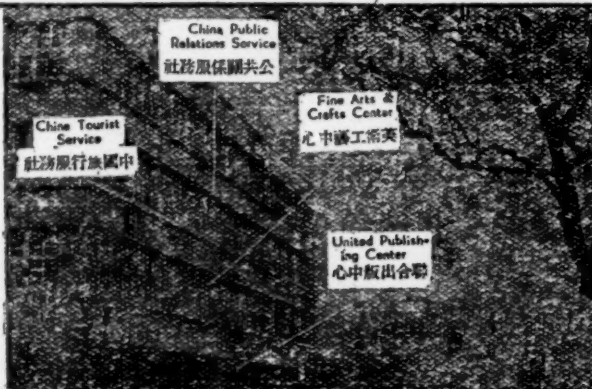
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